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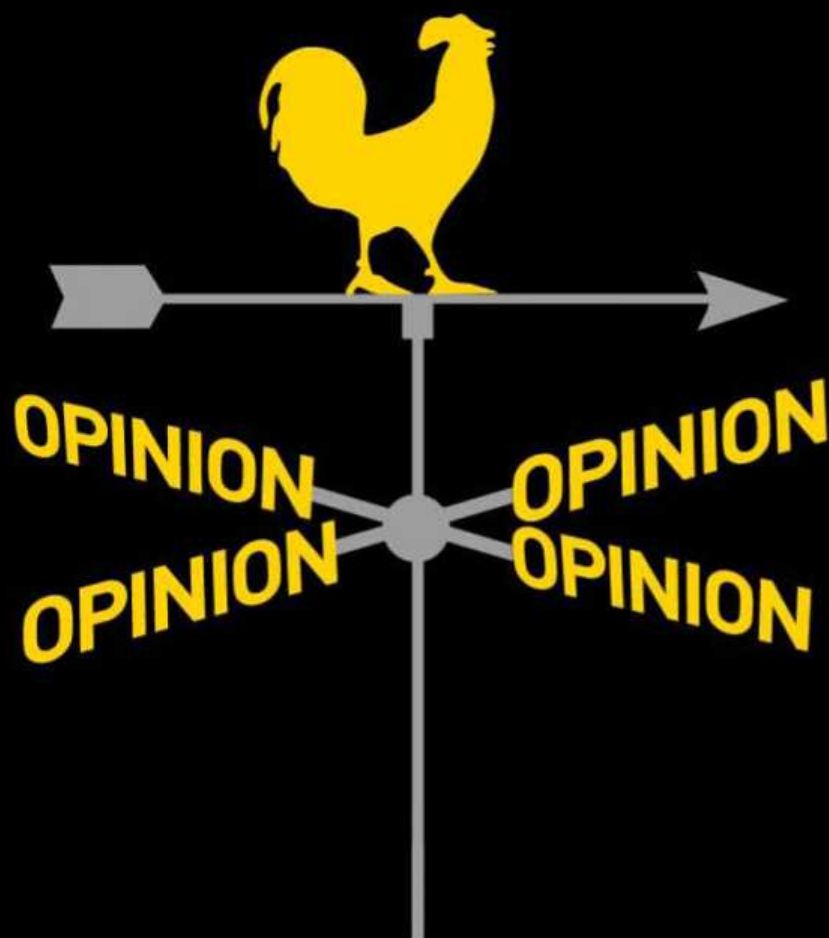
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FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Since 9/11, there have been innumerable terrorist attacks across the world where hundreds of innocents have died but I believe a new realisation is dawning on world leaders after the massacre in Paris last week. Until now the war on terror was driven by America with other countries piggybacking on their initiatives. Now it seems that world leaders, especially after the G20 summit, are seeing it as a global problem and not just the domestic concern of certain nations. India has been crying hoarse about organised, state-sponsored, cross-border terrorism since the '90s but the world has turned a deaf ear in spite of the fact that more than one thousand innocent Indians have died from terrorist acts since 2003.

The principal lesson from Paris is that terror cannot be battled in a piecemeal manner. This means that countries which arm militant groups in order to fulfil their own strategic goals can no longer afford to do it. They must not forget that the same militants they provide weapons to could one day turn around and hurt them. History is witness that those countries have paid a heavy price for their folly. In this modern age when terror networks are capable of carrying out huge operations such as 9/11, and resort to urban guerrilla warfare like they did in Mumbai and Paris, there is no room for foreign policies that distinguish between "good" and "bad" terrorists. The only way to fight terror is with a unified global front.

This is an imperative today as the nature of the threat has changed from the dreaded al Qaeda. Today Islamic State (IS) is not an amorphous terrorist organisation but a full-fledged state. It has an estimated annual budget of nearly \$2 billion, administers a population of 7-8 million, and has ambitions to expand its territory.


In a recent episode of the TV series *Homeland*, a CIA operative who has spent time in the region is asked by a US security committee what the strategy of IS is. He says the strategy comes from an old book: to die for the Caliphate and usher in a world without infidels. He pointedly asks the committee, what is our strategy? The committee is at a loss for words. Since he's already informed them that bombing is not working, the committee then asks him what the strategy should be. His reply is an interesting one. To hear it, watch the episode.

So how to deal with this threat in an effective manner over the long term is a big question. You don't want the chickens to come home to roost. Will strong military action create more jihadis? Does it need to be combined with financial sanctions or a hearts-and-minds campaign? These are questions that need to be answered.

Also, this is a time that calls for caution in how we handle the tenuous relationship between religions and ethnicities. Even though global terror is now perpetrated largely by Islamist groups, we must not allow prejudice to fester against followers of the Islamic faith. If nations allow anger and confusion to get the better of them, innocent people will get isolated and the terrorists will succeed in creating divisions.

Our cover package offers an in-depth analysis of the world after Paris. Expert on terrorism and author of *The New Threat*, Jason Burke, looks at the rise of IS, its ideological underpinnings, and what it will take to stop it. We also have ground reports from Paris on the attack and its impact on multiculturalism and immigration in France. And we bring you a detailed report on the impact on India in the face of the new IS threat, along with a piece by former foreign secretary and ambassador to France Kanwal Sibal on geopolitical realignments.

Terrorism is the biggest threat the world is facing today. It can only be beaten if we address the root of the problem, and that can only be done if the governments of the world unite to eliminate this scourge from the planet. In this hour of grief, let us not forget that the power is still with us.


 (Aroon Purie)

COVER STORY

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PARIS12 | New Empire
of Terror

The Paris attacks have confirmed that the Islamic State is now the pre-eminent jihadi organisation in the world, far ahead of al Qaeda.

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Loathing in
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The random brutality of the November 13 terror attacks has exposed the vulnerability of the country's open society.

25 | India's New
Enemy

The Paris attacks have raised the possibility of strikes on India by the IS. The security establishment is now looking for a raft of solutions.

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States India

As Paris picks up the pieces, perhaps it could learn a thing or two on how to negotiate its multi-cultural future from India's 172 million Muslims.

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Although IIMs continue to rule, private schools are catching up with more of them storming into the top 20.

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With Amit Shah's position a little shaky after BJP's Bihar rout, tough action from the PM may be the only option left to quell the commotion.

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The Modi government is yet to announce 'big bang' reforms or fix the banking system. That has meant an end to the 'Modi Premium' in the stock markets.

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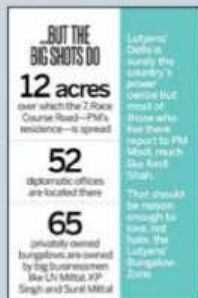
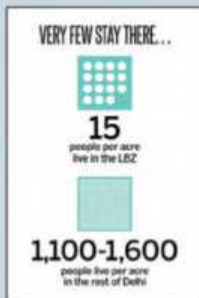
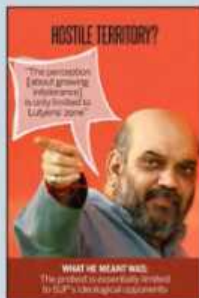
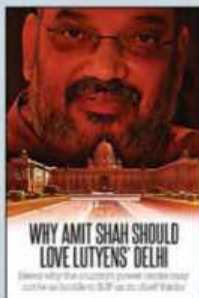
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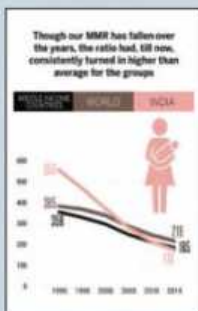
Crying intolerance? Lutyens' Delhi may not be as antagonistic towards the BJP as the saffron party chief Amit Shah thinks? Here's why. <http://bit.ly/11XCy8>



A meaty issue Growth in India's per capita meat consumption will surpass that of the world but will it be equal across livestock categories? <http://bit.ly/1Iss3az>



Did you know India's maternal mortality rates may have reduced but it is still a long way from meeting UN targets and lags far behind its neighbours. <http://bit.ly/1MjiOxg>



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Friday fever: Ajith's blockbuster Vedalam creates history	15,073
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Best of States

NOVEMBER 16, 2015

The definitive ranking of the quality of life and work across India



The survey assesses the groundwork done by the states. New categories such as cleanliness and environment have made the study more wholesome.

KRISHAN KALRA, *via email*

Sifting the Best from the Rest

The annual State of the States survey has become the gold standard for performance evaluation of the states (Best of States, November 16). The all-inclusive categories analyse literally each aspect of how state governments should/and are working. The winners have shown all-round development with the governments living up to the promise of ensuring a better life for their people.

HARSH KALRA, *via email*

The survey besides raising a toast to the best states also exposes the laggards. Studies like this are important to instill a sense of healthy competition between the states, and keep the state governments on their toes in terms of delivering on key issues such as health, investment, infrastructure and a clean environment. Centre alone cannot ensure growth and development. It is only when

End of a Draconian Policy



By ending its 35-year-old one-child policy, the Communist Party of China has finally brought the curtain down on an authoritarian policy that subordinated human rights to coercive birth control practices and led to far-reaching changes in society (Too Little, Too Late, November 16). The policy reversal is an act of social liberalisation, returning people a basic fundamental right—the right to life. The nub of

the matter is that there aren't enough young people in China to ensure growth in industry, agriculture and the services sector. As labour becomes scarce and wages rise, China's manufacturing-led, export-driven economy will lose its competitiveness due to lack of a young working population.

MEGHANA A., *New South Wales*

states clock a healthy growth rate can a country think of achieving double-digit growth.

P. SENTHIL SARAVANA DURAI, *Mumbai*

The State of the States survey has thrown up interesting findings. I was impressed by Sikkim's all-round performance. The North-east is usually given a cold shoulder by media but your stories on efficient and effective implementation of policies by the government in Sikkim are an eye-opener. States such as Uttar Pradesh, Haryana should take a cue from Sikkim, which doesn't boast of great geographical conditions but has managed to make the best use of available resources.

MEGHA SETHI, *Delhi*

While the survey focuses on parameters such as health, education, infrastructure, I feel it should also take into account factors such as women's safety, equal opportunities



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BEST OF STATES
Big states such as

Maharashtra and West Bengal have not performed up to the mark despite having adequate natural resources and manpower at their disposal.

Mahindar Ladkani

Drip irrigation has really helped the farmers in Gujarat. The state has shown how to turn agriculture into a growth-

oriented sector.

Deenanath Nayak
PRIDE OF PREJUDICE ON
TRACK TO DELHI

Sakshi Maharaj winning an election is a defeat of democracy. People like him should not be taken seriously.

Badri Narayan
TROUBLED TRANSITION

One of the best articles I have read till date on the Madhes.

Paramendra Bhagat

for both sexes and social and religious tolerance. Growth cannot be measured solely on per capita income, it must reflect the sentiment of the people of the country.

M.Y. SHARIFF, *Chennai*

The carefully-chosen categories and the exhaustive analysis of each state's performance are praiseworthy. The study acts as a ready reckoner for states to find out the areas they are lacking in and what they need to do to improve their ranking. By recognising and felicitating the best performers, the survey encourages governments to do better next time while promoting a healthy spirit of competition between the states.

R.S. KAPOOR, *via email*

Danger Signs

The situation in Punjab is alarming (Storm Clouds over the Badals, November 16). The mishandling of issues such as crop damage, desecration of the holy scripture and rise of extremist outfits by the Parkash Singh Badal-led government has led to the situation getting out of control. The growing unrest in Punjab has hampered its growth. The state which was once known for posting impressive growth figures year after year, is now slipping in terms of



Tread Cautiously

India has to move fast, albeit cautiously, to preserve its relationship with Nepal (Troubled Transition, November 16). While standing up for the Madhesis, India should be mindful of the fact that it doesn't have many friends in the subcontinent. Antagonising Nepal, which acts as a buffer between India and China, and allowing it to cosy up to China will hurt India's prospects in the long run. India has to convince Nepal that given their shared history and geography, it remains the Himalayan nation's best all-weather ally.

B. RAJASEKARAN, *Bengaluru*

It is a pity that the Ministry of External Affairs couldn't make good of the hugely successful visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Nepal in November last year. Timely information to the Modi government on the sticky subjects in the draft of the constitution could have prevented the two countries from exchanging fire at international platforms such as the UN.

MADHU AGARWAL, *Delhi*

revenue generation and attracting investors.

FATEH PAL SINGH, *Bathinda*

The incidents of desecration of Guru Granth Sahib can ultimately lead to the resurgence of Sikh extremism, or the Khalistan movement, aided by elements across the border. The widespread protests and the spiralling of violence in Punjab shows the Badal government's failure to act in time. Further, by demanding the release of convicted terrorists such as Devinder Pal Bhullar, the government has unwittingly given the Khalistanis a shot at reviving their base.

AKSHAY VISWANATHAN,

Bengaluru

Inspiring Millions

B.L. Munjal was among the first industrialists in the country to implement cost-effective and competitive practices such as backward integration and zero-inventory management (The First Hero, November 16). His relationship with vendors was legendary—he knew each one of them by name and treated them as family members. His life story must be taught at business schools. Aspiring leaders can learn from him the importance of nurturing relationships with business partners, dealers and employees.

BAL GOVIND, *Noida*



FROM THE
ARCHIVES

The New Terror

Four months, four major cities, 43 bombs, 140 dead. It's a forbidding toll made grimmer by the frequency and the physical and psychological destruction. The statistics do not speak of the hundreds of families destroyed, women widowed, children orphaned, innocent people maimed for life. They are the targets of this new, mindless brutality unleashed by a shadow Islamic terror outfit that labels itself Indian Mujahideen (IM), now emerging as the



STATE POLICE ARE NOT GEARED TO TACKLE TERRORISM

biggest threat to the Indian state in recent times. It has morphed into a leading indigenous terrorist outfit, whose fingerprints are now becoming evident in most terror attacks—from the Samjhauta Express train to blasts in Bangalore, Jaipur, Ahmedabad and, lately, Delhi.

Its real-time e-mails to media organisations owning up to the attacks has become the most defining and macabre signature of the terror outfit. Last week's serial blasts in Delhi offers a chilling testimony to their pan-India presence and—more frightening—their ability to strike anywhere and at any time.

The intelligence gathered so far also indicates that IM has made significant inroads into the Muslim community with its brand of puritanical Islam as propagated by bin Laden.

by Uday Mahurkar

September 29, 2008



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THE TRUTH ABOUT TIPU SULTAN

Those who during our national movement mourned the lack of effective and determined resistance offered against the British conquest always regarded Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan as two of the few exceptions; and Tipu Sultan by his death, while bravely entering the battle with the English, himself earned particular admiration from such nationalist historians as Jawaharlal Nehru (*The Discovery of India*) and N.K. Sinha (*Haider Ali*). Perhaps, as time passes, our regard for those who stoutly opposed British power gets increasingly dimmed so that Tipu Sultan has become a 'controversial' figure even to editorial writers in serious newspapers and an enemy to target in street protests.

It is therefore necessary to recall some relevant facts. Born on November 20, 1750, Tipu took part in the first Mysore war against the English (1767-69) successfully attacking Mangalore; and when the second war with the English (1780-84) broke out, he defeated the English Commander Baillie near Conjeeveram. Sir Thomas Munro was to describe this battle as "the severest blow the English ever sustained in India". Tipu succeeded his father Haider Ali in 1782 and managed, by his assault on Mangalore, to force the English to make peace as an equal in 1784. He was ultimately defeated in the third war (1790-92) and the final struggle (1799), but despite ceding territory in 1792, he never accepted subordination to the English. In this he was totally different from the Indian rulers of the time, who, as V. A. Smith wryly remarks, never considered martyrdom as an option.

This is, however, by far not the only reason to distinguish Tipu from his peers. He tried to use European arms and established foundries—but this had been done by his father and was to be done by other rulers such as Mahadji Sindhia as well. Where he surpassed all others was in trying to master the new technology and succeeding in manufacturing arms, both muskets and pistols, up to the best European standards. Unlike other Indian rulers, Tipu fitted out ships of modern design to create a navy which he hoped could challenge the English at sea.

All this is striking enough, but there are two other fascinating features in Tipu: his interest in modern industrial technology and his policy of economic development—the latter unprecedented in Indian history until his time. By use of modern technology, he manufactured clocks and watches and European-style paper and established a workshop for knives, scissors and needles.

Equally noteworthy is his policy of economic development. He established a state system of deposits where smaller depositors were to get higher rates of interest—inklings of a welfare state? He founded a state trading company to export Mysore products aboard ships, with its branches (*kothis*) in many places. The Mysore silk industry goes back to Tipu, who established 21 centres for the culture of silkworms and planted mulberry trees to encourage peasants to take to sericulture.

What is now being urged against Tipu—an accusation which has respectable origins in the statements of his English enemies in his own time—is that atrocities were committed and forced conversions imposed on Hindu rebels in Coorg and Malabar. While the numbers involved are now being hugely exaggerated, there is no doubt that such atrocities did occur. One must, however, remember that rebels and armed enemies were seldom given quarter by the English themselves. In the Polygar rebellion which followed the fall of Tipu, the English summarily hanged all the rebels. However, that too is no excuse for what Tipu and his men did.

But this is far from saying that Tipu was hostile to Hinduism or persecuted his Hindu subjects. In fact the bulk of his revenue officials were Brahmans, as Buchanan observed in 1801. Purnaiya was his treasurer, and lists of his Hindu officials have been compiled. B.A. Saletore published a long article Tipu Sultan titled 'Defender of Hindu Dharma', dealing with his devotion to the Shringeri *math*. And in 1944, Subbaraya Chetty, delving into archives, compiled a whole list of his endowments to Hindus and Hindu temples. Both these articles have been reprinted in a volume issued by the Indian History Congress.

But the best testimony comes from Tipu Sultan himself. He used to record his dreams. In one dream, he says, he saw a deserted temple. When he went in, he found images of a number of gods and goddesses. Two goddesses came to life and advancing towards him, complained of the desolate condition of the temple. Tipu thereupon ordered his men to immediately repair that temple.

All of the material cited here is available in English.

If a person like Tipu Sultan is still to be erased from Indian history, or the commendatory part of it, one fears there is little that would be left in our past for one to take pride in.

Shireen Moosvi is a professor of history at Aligarh Muslim University

Illustration by SAURABH SINGH



While Tipu Sultan did commit atrocities on Hindu rebels, this is far from saying that he was hostile to Hinduism or persecuted his Hindu subjects.

THE BIG TRIP UP

The event-based orientation of PM Narendra Modi's diplomatic missions has started taking its toll. His visit to Singapore in November-end is likely to be pared down to a day as against the three-day trip planned earlier. India and Singapore have planned to sign a comprehensive strategic partnership pact, but despite several efforts both nations could not carve out substantial engagement points. Singapore is keen to upgrade the India-Singapore Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) to further liberalise bilateral trade and give a fillip to economic engagements but New Delhi's long-pending review of the CECA has dampened the Lion City's spirits. The media is also abuzz with stories of restrictions imposed on PIOs attending Modi's address in Singapore.



Illustration by SAURABH SINGH



IN 7th HEAVEN

Set to take over as Bihar CM for the fifth time on November 20, there is every indication that **Nitish Kumar** may continue to operate from his 7, Circular Road residence, instead of shifting to 1, Anne Marg, the official residence of Bihar CM. The Anne Marg bungalow has remained unoccupied since Jitan Ram Manjhi vacated it in July. This may have something to do with Nitish's perceived liking for the number 7, as he also uses a vehicle with a registration number ending with 0007. Many believe the numerology may also dovetail nicely if he plans to shift from 7, Circular Road to 7, Race Course Road in Delhi after the next Lok Sabha polls.

A MODI-XI RACE?

PM Narendra Modi and Xi Jinping have over the past two months had curiously similar travel schedules—Modi landed in the US a day after Xi, began his Britain visit three weeks after Xi was grandly received in London, and will visit Singapore on November 23, barely two weeks after the Chinese president. Comparisons of the two leaders that have filled the pages of newspapers in the US and Britain seem to have annoyed the media in China. Resenting any notion of equating India with China, the state-run *Global Times* said in an editorial that while India and the West like to compare the two countries, "China prefers a comparison with the US".



MAN OF THE MOMENT: PRASHANT KISHOR

After the Bihar victory, Nitish Kumar's campaign manager has been receiving feelers from various parties



Mamata Banerjee's team has also reportedly approached Kishor.



Rahul Gandhi met him in Delhi recently.



Tarun Gogoi met Kishor's father-in-law.



MISSING IN ACTION

In a major disappointment to the **Vasundhara Raje** government in Rajasthan, PM Narendra Modi has declined to inaugurate the much-touted Resurgent Rajasthan summit beginning November 19. In February, Raje had announced amid much fanfare that the PM would inaugurate the event when Modi had visited the state. The PMO has cited his busy schedule as the reason. The event will now be inaugurated by Finance Minister Arun Jaitley, who is also known to be Raje's strongest votary in Delhi.

MAKING NEWS

Janpith winner and playwright **Girish Karnad**, who is under fire for suggesting that Karnataka should have named the Bengaluru airport after Tipu Sultan, is also facing a backlash from the Kannada media. Reason: He preferred to give interviews to English TV channels and newspapers, ignoring the Kannada media. A few newspapers even published reports on his alleged bias against the regional media. But Karnad has preferred not to react so far.



SINGULAR ADVANTAGE



Corruption seems to have come down in Haryana and Union Rural Development Minister **Birender Singh** tells us why. “*Yehan CM Manohar Lal Khattar ne zaroorat hi koni. Usne kaunsi apni chhori byahni hai* (The CM doesn’t need money. He has no daughter to marry off),” Singh said drawing much laughter with his friendly dig at Khattar’s bachelorhood, at a public function in Narwana recently. If nothing else, the minister certainly helped lift the spirits of BJP workers in ‘Jatland’ in the wake of the Bihar verdict.

FREE FOR ALL by Saurabh Singh

France launches fresh strikes on ISIS as Pentagon chief calls for global coalition



IN THE RED

PTI



The soaring revenue deficit in Andhra Pradesh has pushed the N. Chandrababu Naidu government to the edge. While the monthly revenue generated by government departments is Rs 5,000 crore, the expenditure varies between Rs 7,500 crore and Rs 8,000 crore. The government has now roped in three experts and created a special unit—Financial and Economic Analysis Division. Even as the experts get cracking to advise the state on effective management of public finances, the cash-strapped state has imposed a 10 per cent cut in expenses across all departments as a first measure to cope with the situation.

BIHAR POLL IMPACT

The BJP's defeat has reset power equations across political parties



RAM VILAS PASWAN



JITAN RAM MANJHI

On an equal pedestal as their sons-in-law lost the polls from Bochaha and Bodh Gaya respectively



C.P. JOSHI

Party in-charge of Bihar where the Congress won 27 of 40 seats



PAPPU YADAV

Had to apologise for having stated that he would quit active politics if Lalu Prasad's sons win the elections

MISSION VARANASI

RJD chief Lalu Prasad Yadav recently announced to ‘take on’ PM Modi in his constituency Varanasi by organising a victory rally after the Bihar election results. But UP CM Akhilesh Yadav plans to do much more than that. His government plans to open eight agri-junctions across the city where more than 1,000 subsidised shops will be allotted to unemployed agriculture graduates. It is also planning a heritage walk in the city besides a Rs 100-crore allotment to repair all roads by 2016.

with ANSHUMAN TIWARI, ASIT JOLLY, KAUSHIK DEKA, ARAVIND GOWDA, ANANTH KRISHNAN, ASHISH MISRA, AMITABH SRIVASTAVA, ROHIT PARIHAR AND AMARNATH K. MENON



MYANMAR'S ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

A look at the country's historic election that may finally end military dictatorship



THE HISTORIC ELECTION



FIRST

full electoral exercise since 1990, when **Aung San Suu Kyi** and her **National League for Democracy (NLD)** got a clear majority, but the army had that election annulled



20 YEARS

Time since 1990 that **Suu Kyi** was under arrest

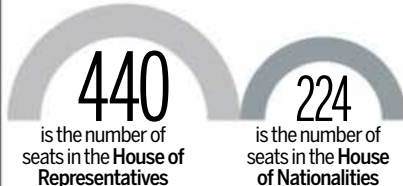


80%

is the **estimated turnout** in the polls; seen as a big step away from decades of military rule

THE HOUSE

The Myanmar Parliament, **Hluttaw**, consists of two Houses



THE CONTEST



Suu Kyi's
NLD

VS



Military-backed Union Solidarity Development Party (**USDP**) that has been in power since 2011

THE PLAYERS



30 MN

people were eligible to vote in the election in Myanmar



6,000+

candidates from 91 parties vied to be elected to the 664-seat parliament

CONDITIONS APPLY



25%

seats are reserved for unelected military representatives who have a veto over change in the constitution



498 SEATS

330 in the Representatives,
168 in the Nationalities
were decided in the election



100,000+

Rohingya Muslims displaced by communal violence and living in camps since 2012 didn't vote



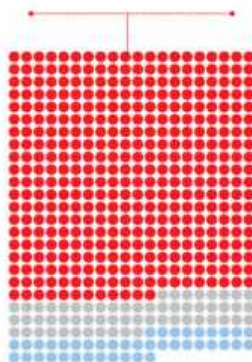
SUU KYI

is barred from the presidency as the constitution disqualifies anyone with foreign offspring; her children are British

ADVANTAGE NLD

80%

of contested seats have been won by NLD candidates (387 of the 478 seats declared until Nov 15)



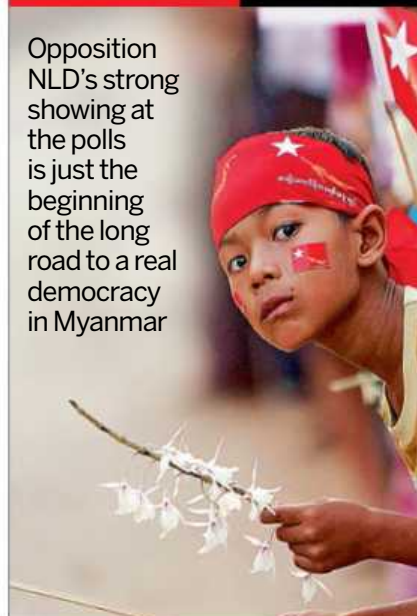
41

(of these 478 seats) have USDP candidates

DEMOCRACY

FINALLY?

Opposition NLD's strong showing at the polls is just the beginning of the long road to a real democracy in Myanmar





PEOPLE PAY TRIBUTES AT A MAKESHIFT MEMORIAL
NEAR THE BATACLAN CONCERT HALL IN PARIS



AFTER PARIS

THE NEW TERROR THREAT
LESSONS FROM 13/11
WHY INDIA SHOULD WORRY



THE NEW EMPIRE OF TERROR

THE PARIS ATTACKS HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THE ISLAMIC STATE
IS NOW THE WORLD'S PRE-EMINENT JIHADI ORGANISATION
POSING A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

| By Jason Burke |

At dawn, the *peshmerga* Kurdish fighters had advanced up the hillsides. It was still cold, mid-March in northern Iraq, and, when the battle against the militants was over, the Kurds had lit fires to brew tea and heat food. Combat had been short and sharp, and dead militants still lay by the roadside. Overhead US jets flew. The night had been loud with their bombing.

It was almost 13 years ago, and though I did not know it, I was witnessing the beginning of the long process that would lead first to the creation of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), then to its evolution into a global terrorist group, Islamic State (IS), and finally to the attacks in Paris on November 13.

The Paris attacks confirmed that IS is now the pre-eminent jihadi outfit in the world, far ahead of al Qaeda in terms of its recent record of horrific violence. In a matter of weeks, it has killed hundreds in the Sinai desert when bringing down a plane full of Russian holidaymakers, killed scores in Beirut and executed the most deadly strike in France for over a decade. It has “gone global”, adding a new dimension to its already multifaceted terrorist campaign and its hybrid insurgency. It is present in some way in almost every country where there are Muslims, and is gaining strength in Afghanistan and Bangladesh. In India, though the numbers who have travelled to Iraq or Syria remain in the low dozens, the total of those who have tried to make this journey are much higher. They are not chargesheeted, deliberately, by police and thus do not make the statistics.

From a problem born in Iraq almost a decade-and-a-half ago, IS has emerged as a planetary problem, as of course the group always intended to be. Their aim is to restore the lost power and glory of the great Islamic empires of the seventh to 16th centuries to the ummah, the world's community of Muslims, and to refound the Caliphate as a new Islamic superpower. Their motto is: endure and expand. That is what they will continue to try and

THE RISE OF IS

The Islamic State (IS) has affiliates and operatives in many countries. Its head Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi calls the shots.

ORIGIN

Founded in 1999. Broke away from al Qaeda in 2004. Declared 'Caliphate' in June 2014.

SIZE OF TERRITORY

243,000 sq km
(size of Great Britain)

POPULATION

6 million.

FIGHTERS

20,000 (estimated)

ARSENAL



BMP-2



T-55, T-62
Main battle tanks



23 mm
Anti-aircraft
guns



155 mm
Howitzers



Humvees



Stinger
MANPADS

NUMBER OF FOREIGN FIGHTERS

10,000 (estimated)

REVENUE

\$3 million per day (Rs 180 crore)
majority through oil sales.

AREA OF CONTROL



Text by SANDEEP UNNITHAN
Illustration by SAURABH SINGH

GAME CHANGER

Islamic State social media outreach

Twitter supporters
46,000

Average number of followers per account **1004**

Average number of tweets per day per account **7.3**

Total number of social media posts per day
90,000.

SIGNIFICANT STRIKES

Paris
November 13, 2015
139 people killed in highly coordinated, multi-target attack by eight IS men

October 10, 2015
102 people killed in an attack on a peace procession by twin suicide bombers
Istanbul

November 12, 2015
43 people killed in attack by a suicide bomber
Beirut

Oct 31, 2015
224 people killed after Russian airliner downed by bomb on board
Sana'a

March 20, 2015
142 people in a quadruple suicide bomber attack





AFTER PARIS

do. Yet within that project lies a fatal flaw. What happens when they stop expanding?

THE GENESIS

Among the militants high in the hills above Halabjah back in 2003 was a Jordanian former street thug called Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a veteran of Afghanistan and in prison in his own country. He had abandoned his camp—part funded by Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda—in the west of Afghanistan in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and made his way to northern Iraq where he found shelter in a stronghold of Islamic militants who fought both Saddam Hussein and the local Kurds, all while swearing that one day they would take the battle to the west. Most of the few hundred militants in the enclave escaped after the fighting, fleeing into the hills and then circling back into Iraq. Al-Zarqawi was among them. Within months he had exploited the chaos of post-Saddam Iraq to set up a new group which he would eventually fuse with al Qaeda, and lay the basis for what would be ISIS.

The US-led invasion of Iraq, though aimed at eliminating Saddam's supposed weapons of mass destruction and making the world safer as a result, instead had the opposite effect. It opened a new front in the heart of the Islamic

world. An insurgency sprung up, with Islamic militants playing a high profile if not always particularly effective part.

Al-Zarqawi was killed in 2006, having been forced out of his stronghold among Sunni tribes in western Iraq who, though they felt disenfranchised in the new Shia-dominated set-up, were sickened by his indiscriminate violence and lack of respect for their traditions. Over the following years, the Islamic militants in Iraq—fighting as the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI)—suffered heavy losses. In 2010 their top leaders were all killed in a series of raids. A new chief was appointed: Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, a 40-year-old cleric and militant from the city of Sammarra, north of Baghdad. Many of the decision makers in the organisation remained former officials from Saddam's regime.

In 2011, the group, still nominally loyal to al Qaeda, was presented with an extraordinary opportunity. In Iraq they had been boosted by growing sectarian tensions. The conflict between Shia and Sunni Muslims in the country—as in the broader Islamic world—had sharpened over the previous decade. The Shia—only 15 percent of the world's Muslims but a majority of Iraqis—had dominated the government, the bureaucracy and the army since the fall of Saddam. The former leader was

**FRENCH
FIREFMEN HELP
INJURED PEOPLE
AFTER THE ATTACK
AT BATACLAN
CONCERT HALL**

REUTERS



a Sunni and had favoured the sect.

Particularly since 2009, partisan pro-Shia policies by Iraqi prime minister Nouri al-Maliki had already forced many Sunnis into supporting the then ISI. The civil war in Syria, prompted by the vicious repression of ordinary citizens demanding basic human rights as others were doing in countries affected by the Arab Spring, had created a power vacuum in much of the east of the country. It was also increasingly sectarian. The Assad regime is Alawite, a Shia heterodox minority in Syria. Its primary backer, Iran, is also Shia. The majority population and almost the entire opposition is Sunni, and backed by Sunni powers such as Qatar, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. The result was a perfect storm of division and anarchy ripe for exploitation by the ISI.

Acting as a local proxy for al Qaeda, led by Ayman al-Zawahiri following the death of Osama bin Laden, the ISI helped set up a new affiliate in Syria. But then al-Baghdadi decided that he wanted a slice of the action there himself. He changed the name of his own group to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and claimed overall command. Al-Zawahiri told him to stick with Iraq. Al-Baghdadi refused and repudiated the older man's authority with some of the bluntest language ever used between jihadi leaders.

This split was not just about personalities. It was also about worldview and strategy. Al Qaeda saw setting up a caliphate as a long-term aspiration and aim. ISIS saw it as an immediate project. Al Qaeda favoured a global strategy, striking the West to unify the disparate forces of Islamic militancy and weaken the "Crusader Zionist" alliance. ISIS prioritised terrain and people.

THE 'STATE'

It was no surprise that in early 2013, ISIS launched a blitzkrieg advance in Syria, seized a huge swath of land, weapons and resources, and brought millions of people under their ramshackle, rigorous rule. They also gained valuable combat experience, and an understanding of how to exploit sectarian, ethnic, economic and tribal divisions to gain control of communities. All this new capacity and knowledge was then focused on Iraq, and in June 2014, the group seized Mosul. Al-Baghdadi declared the Caliphate two weeks later.

Within days of assuming office, al-Baghdadi, or Caliph Ibrahim as he now called himself, issued a series of orders which gave some idea of the form his reinvented Caliphate would take. First came a list of regulations determining personal behaviour of the inhabitants of

Mosul, the Caliphate's new capital. These were familiar from those already in force in places like Raqqa over the previous year. They also recalled those imposed on local communities in the west of Iraq during the days of al-Zarqawi's rule, in Taliban Afghanistan, and in the various Islamic states that revivalists of various kinds had tried to construct over the previous decades and centuries. Smoking and drinking were forbidden, the former punishable by amputation, the latter by death; women were only to wear 'Islamic garb' and to remain in homes unless accompanied by a close relative or their husband. Schools were ordered to rigorously segregate their pupils and teachers by gender. Men were ordered to attend prayers five times a day punctually or face lashing. The newly established religious police which patrolled Mosul was an institution familiar to Raqqa, Fallujah, Taliban Afghanistan and, of course, contemporary Saudi Arabia.

Soon after came executions. Among the first to die in Mosul were the clerics who refused to pledge allegiance to the Islamic State (IS). These killings continued in the city through the autumn and winter. In one month alone, January 2015, four doctors were killed, possibly after refusing to treat IS fighters, two alleged homosexuals were pushed off the top of a tower block in front of a crowd in the centre of the city, and at least one woman was stoned to death for adultery. Two militants from IS itself were crucified and then shot after being found guilty of extortion at checkpoints. The majority of the killings in Mosul in the immediate aftermath of the takeover were, however, of tribesmen who had 'betrayed' the Islamic State by collaborating with government forces.

As in Taliban Afghanistan, the aim of this very public and brutal violence was to enforce public order. Justice needed quite literally to be seen to be done. The violence was designed to speak to three critical audiences, with a different message for each. For those who opposed IS, the aim was to terrorise through deliberately excessive violence shocking in its cruelty. For those already committed to the cause, its aim was to mobilise: to rally them into action by demonstrating the group's power and success. And for those who remained undecided, it was designed to polarise: to force the viewer into picking a side and deciding if they would condone the violence, remain silent and thus become complicit, or oppose it.

Like all regimes, IS needs cash. Where IS differs dramatically from any previous project to create a new, extremist Islamic state is in the

AMONG THE FIRST TO DIE AT THE HANDS OF IS WERE IRAQI 'COLLABORATORS'. THEN THE IS KILLED WESTERNERS IN WEST ASIA, HITTING MUSEUMS AND HOTELS, AND EVENTUALLY A PLANE. FINALLY, THE IS KILLED WESTERNERS IN THE WEST.



A MAN PAYS RESPECTS AT THE CRASH SITE OF THE RUSSIAN AIRLINER REPORTEDLY BOMBED BY THE ISLAMIC STATE IN EGYPT



AFTER PARIS

AS IS HAS EXPANDED, IT HAS PRIORITISED THE ACQUISITION OF LUCRATIVE RESOURCES. MOST IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF INCOME GENERATION ARE THE CONTROL OF OILFIELDS AND 'TAXES' LEVIED ON BUSINESSES & INDIVIDUALS.

scale of its operations, the size of the territory it administers and the resources it has at its disposal. This means a much greater ability to order and structure the lives of the several million people living under its authority than any previous group has ever had. It also means more money to spend on what could be called its 'soft power' and 'outreach' efforts, or propaganda. (Of course, it also means it has much higher expenses than most of the other militant organisations existing over the last two to three decades.)

CASHING IN

IS gets its money from a number of sources. Historically, private donors elsewhere in the Islamic world have provided significant financial assistance. These are now a tiny fraction of the overall financing of the organisation, intelligence officials believe. These days its funding does not come directly from states, whatever Vladimir Putin and others may claim, but mainly from taxes levied locally and the sale of oil from fields and refineries within the areas it controls.

For as IS has expanded territorially, it has carefully prioritised the acquisition of lucrative resources. The most obvious has been oil, and the majority of the oilfields of eastern Syria are currently under its nominal control as well as some in Iraq. Most of it is used for internal consumption, but some is sold through long-established smuggling routes, mainly through Kurdish areas of northern Iraq and into Turkey, though also into regime-controlled zones. Despite fetching a price which is only around a fifth of market values, these sales may have brought in more than \$40 million every month

in the summer of 2014, according to the United Nations. Also large sums are also made from trafficking wheat, seized cotton and antiquities smuggled by criminal gangs who buy a 'licence' to excavate and traffic from IS authorities. Ransoms for hostages have brought in, it is thought, tens of millions of dollars.

Most important in terms of income generation are the 'taxes' levied on businesses and individuals. Some are traditional, such as the customary levy for charitable works, which at 2.5 per cent or thereabouts of revenue is often less onerous than many of those raised by the Syrian or Iraqi regimes when they were in power. Government employees—some still paid by national exchequers in Damascus and Baghdad—are taxed on their salaries. Together these may bring in a million or so dollars every day, though reliable figures are difficult to get. Other taxes are less systematic, but still involve very significant sums. These are a form of protection racket, accompanied by explicit threats of extreme violence if they are not paid but also on the understanding that IS will ensure the security of businesses or individuals from bandits, thieves or other extortionists if the money is handed over. Well before the fall of Mosul, the city's inhabitants were paying between \$8 million and \$12 million each month to IS, US officials and others estimated. Fees are also levied on trucks and private cars travelling through Syria and Iraq.

What then does IS do with this immense flow of cash? The answer, predictably, is that it does what many rudimentary states with a revolutionary agenda do: funds an administration, social services and a military as well as a variety of cultural or educational initiatives designed to shape the values, norms and world view of the people it governs.

It also funds war. Estimates of the number of fighters IS could deploy at any one time vary from a few thousand to tens of thousands. In September 2014, the CIA reportedly suggested a figure of between 20,000 and 31,500. Most are paid somewhere between \$200 and \$600 every month, meaning a maximum total wage bill of somewhere between \$4 million and \$21 million, with allowances for food and lodging adding a further financial burden.

Weapons come from existing stocks, seized from the government forces of Iraq and Syria. There appears to be no shortage of them. Foreign fighters have flowed in too—perhaps 30,000 so far. The vast proportion, at least two-thirds, are from West Asia. Around 1,500 are from France; perhaps 500 from Belgium, despite the small Muslim population there. There have been a

REUTERS



27-YEAR-OLD ABDELHAMID ABAAOUD IS BELIEVED TO BE THE MASTERMIND BEHIND THE PARIS ATTACKS



AN IMAGE SHOWING JOURNALIST STEVEN SOTLOFF BEING HELD CAPTIVE BY THE IS



THE PARIS ATTACKS MARK A QUANTUM LEAP FORWARD. THEY ARE ALSO A SIGNAL THAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE IN THE CROSS HAIRS AND NOT JUST IN WESTERN EUROPE.

handful from India, the Maldives and elsewhere in South Asia. They are used as cannon fodder, as suicide bombers, in desperate assaults with no chance of survival or when local fighters need their retreat covered.

HOW TO FIGHT IT

The IS has made some gains since summer 2014—it took the cities of Ramadi and Palmyra earlier this year—and suffered some losses—the Iraqi cities of Baiji and Tikrit, at the Syrian border town Kobane where it may have lost up to 5,000 men, and now Sinjar. These have all been defeats. Currently there is a tactical stalemate which appears to be slowly tipping the advantages away from the group and towards their disunited enemies. It certainly appears unlikely that the IS can expand its current central core territory much further.

One key element has been the greater resolve of regional powers, particularly Turkey, which, though it still has deep reservations about Kurdish armed factions on its southern frontiers, has finally closed its border to Syria cutting off resources that were flowing to IS. Iran has organised Iraqi militia composed of Shia fighters which, if they inflame the sectarian tensions of the region, have kept IS bottled up on the eastern front. Hezbollah, heavily supported by Tehran, has also stiffened the fighters of the Assad regime. The Russian airstrikes have been mainly directed at bolstering Damascus and have predominantly hit more moderate opposition factions, though a few have targeted IS. This may change post-Paris.

It is unclear whether the timing of the Paris strikes was due to a recent decision to escalate the IS campaign of terror or simply because previous plots have been uncovered. It was what western intelligence services had long feared. First, IS had killed westerners in Iraq and Syria, creating graphic videos which they used as shock-and-awe propaganda. Then they killed westerners elsewhere in West Asia, hitting museums and hotels, and eventually a plane. Finally, they killed westerners in the West.

Paris was always likely to be a target. France escaped the previous post-9/11 al Qaeda-led wave of terror unscathed, partly because of its fierce opposition to the US-led war in Iraq. But a beacon of secularism, with a hard line on issues such as wearing the veil in public, and at the forefront of recent military efforts to roll back the IS or other extremist groups, the country had become a target. There had been a rolling drumbeat of violence too, with attacks in 2012, 2013 and 2014. The Charlie Hebdo attacks in January were the latest in a

series, though they were only linked tangentially to outside organisations. The Paris attacks mark a quantum leap forward. They are also a signal that other countries are in the cross hairs and not just in western Europe. The success, for the terrorists, of this tragedy will encourage further operations of the same sort. South Asia is certainly a target and India tempting to the militants, despite the solid and proven resistance of the Muslim population to all extremism, and particularly ideologies imported from West Asia.

In July, the outgoing US Army chief said that the fight against IS was not a two-year or a three-year fight but would last “10 to 20 years”. The truth is no one knows how long it will take to roll back the group. Collapse could come quickly if al-Baghdadi is killed, associates squabble over a successor, and the money stops flowing in from taxes or smuggling. Or the IS could continue to consolidate its core territory with airstrikes proving more an inconvenience than a strategic game changer.

What is certain is that the chances of thousands of Western ‘boots on the ground’ are extremely thin. Western publics and leaders do not have any appetite for such massive efforts with the casualties and expense they entail. Instead the jets, the special forces and local troops will be the cutting edge of the military effort. This is sensible. The last decade has shown that though a US armoured division could easily clear much of Iraq or Syria of IS militants, their presence in the region would be an unsustainable disaster. Nor will the West now back al-Assad. Frantic diplomacy is underway to elaborate a third option which would allow both the pro-Assad international lobby and the anti-Assad lobby to be satisfied. The strikes in Paris will concentrate minds, in Washington, Moscow, Ankara, Riyadh, and in Delhi too.

The so-called Caliphate is built on continual expansion, as the originals of a thousand years ago were too. The sense of empowerment and vindication brought by the easy victories of a year ago have been crucial to the appeal of the IS to so many, and to its aura of supposed invincibility. If the victories slow, as they are likely to do, and the cash flows weaken, as it almost certainly will, then the momentum al-Baghdadi and his associates have generated will fade too and the entire edifice may crash to the ground. But before that happens we are likely to see much more violence, and many more dead across the Islamic world and beyond.

Jason Burke is a foreign correspondent at The Guardian and the author of The New Threat



AFTER PARIS

GROUND
ZERO



RAJ CHENGAPPA

**NATIONS ARE
CONFRONTED
WITH A CHOICE.
THEY CAN
JOIN HANDS
AND PUT THE
SQUEEZE ON
TERRORISM. OR
THERE IS EVERY
DANGER THAT
CRUSADE 2.0
MAY BECOME A
BLOODY REALITY.**



Illustration by SAURABH SINGH

AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME

Prime Minister Modi should urgently call for a summit meet to implement India's long-standing call for a comprehensive convention on international terrorism

Four hours before the horrific attacks in Paris, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, addressing a packed Wembley Stadium in London, expounded on the need for the UN to adopt a comprehensive convention on international terrorism as the only way to curb the menace. Although his warning appeared prescient, it was not the first time Modi would be making such a demand on his now frequent trips abroad. The attack though brought a new sense of urgency for a global compact to tackle the scourge unitedly rather than individually or through a limited coalition of the willing.

Why is an international convention an idea whose time has finally come? Because the strikes in Paris bear an uncanny resemblance to the carnage in Mumbai in 2008. Now no city in the world is safe from terrorist attacks. Despite the world knowing who the perpetrators of the Mumbai attacks are, they are yet to be punished by Pakistan, which continues to abet terrorist organisations with little fear or concern about international opprobrium.

The bloodbath in Paris was carried out by the Syria-based Islamic State (IS). But France would be naïve to think that it can wipe out the IS on its own. It can bomb the hell out of Raqqa, the IS headquarters, but leaders of the terror group would simply disburse and regroup. The US believed that the war on terror it had declared after 9/11 had been won after it finally killed Osama bin-Laden. But the remnants of al Qaeda metamorphosed into the IS and a whole range of splinter groups as deadly as the parent.

For terrorist organisations to thrive, apart from exhibiting a fierce ideological commitment, they require sanctuaries to operate from and usually have the backing either overtly or covertly of a state apparatus. They need finance, loads of it, to purchase arms and ammunition and to fund the training and indoctrination of recruits apart from the attacks. If the terror group goes international, as the IS has done, then they form an intricate maze of abettors, financiers, accomplices and caches of arms in several countries that make detection and elimination extremely difficult for a single affected nation. The provisions of the proposed international convention would

criminalise all forms of international terrorism through stringent provisions and thwart terrorists, their financiers, and backers, by globally cooperating to cut off access to arms, funds and safe havens.

Yet such an international convention, that India had proposed as far back as 1996, has so far been blocked in the UN for several reasons. Initially it was put on the back burner by the Arab countries who saw it as a ploy to check the Palestine uprising by nations backing Israel. Then, as is now, the dispute raged over how to define who is a terrorist with nations quoting the cliché that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter”. The key sticking point was, what differentiates a terrorist organisation from a liberation movement? And, are the activities of a nation’s army excluded even if it is seen to commit acts of terrorism? Also, powerful nations such as the US and many in Europe were confident that they could take on terror groups on their own. Meanwhile, Latin American countries were concerned about the violation of human rights if such a convention was brought about.

Unfortunately, the wrangling continues over the definition of terrorism. So how can the deadlock be broken? Modi should call for a high-level international conference to hammer out the differences in defining terrorism. The atmosphere is far more conducive today for an agreement as there are very few nations in the world which have not been affected by the plague of terrorism—even Africa has seen the rise of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab.

The West should also agree to put an end to its duplicity in fostering such groups as the Taliban and even proto-IS groups in Syria to bring about the regime changes it desired. The days of proxy support and battles are over. It should acknowledge that there is no such thing as a good terrorist. All are bad.

After Paris, once again nations are confronted with a choice. They can join hands and put the squeeze on terrorism. Or as Islamist terror rises, there is every danger that Crusade 2.0 may become a bloody reality. It would take a toll on countless innocent lives and force us to live in perpetual fear. The price of failure is frightening.

Follow the writer on Twitter @rajchengappa

DO YOU TOSS
AND TURN
IN BED,
THE WHOLE
NIGHT?

DID YOU
COMPROMISE ON
THE CHOICE
OF YOUR
MATTRESS?

*Sona hai,
to Jaagiye!*

IS FINDING
YOUR PREFERRED
MATTRESS
SURFACE
IN YOUR BUDGET
A PROBLEM?

DO YOU WISH
THAT
CHOOSING
THE RIGHT
MATTRESS SURFACE
IS MADE EASIER?



The right mattress can make all the difference between a sound sleep and a sleepless night. Choose a mattress that is just right for you, from our new **MY MATTRESS** range that offers you the choice of mattress surfaces.

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PEOPLE CONSOLE
EACH OTHER NEAR
THE BATACLAN
CONCERT HALL IN
PARIS, WHERE
TERRORISTS
EXACTED THE
HIGHEST TOLL



NINGS OF 13/11



AFTER MOVING SWIFTLY TO NEUTRALISE THE TERRORISTS, FRANCE IS NOW LIKELY TO ENTER A GLOBAL COALITION TO DESTROY IS

| By Vaiju Naravane in Paris |

Friday, November 13 was a balmy autumn evening. The date held no real significance for the French who are not a particularly religious people. Now, after the events there are many who claim that the date held deadly portents after all.

It was 9.20 p.m. The football friendly between France and Germany with President Francois Hollande among the spectators was underway at the Stade de France in Saint Denis, just north of Paris, when the first explosion occurred. A suicide bomber wearing an explosive jacket had blown himself up in rue Jules-Rimet just outside the stadium's D entrance. Two bodies were found—the first that of the kamikaze whose jacket contained TATP or unstable hydrogen peroxide-based explosive, bolts, batteries and an activation button. The second victim was a passer-by who was sucked in by the power of the detonation's heat wave.

At 9.25 p.m., a black Seat Leon drew up alongside the Carillon bar and the Petit Cambodge restaurant on the junction of rue Alibert and rue Bichat in the capital's 10th district. It's a busy district full of bars and restaurants where revelers unwind with a glass of wine at the end of a tough working week.

Three men, their faces unmasked, wearing ordinary parkas but carrying Kalashnikovs began spraying bullets on those sitting on sidewalk tables. Fifteen people, almost all of them aged under 35, were killed on the spot. Ten others were grievously injured. Over a hundred spent cartridges of 7.62 mm calibre littered the pavement.

9.30 p.m. Return to the Stade de France and to Jules-Rimet street. This time the explosion occurs outside the H entrance. The players are disconcerted, momentarily distracted by the sound, but they carry on playing. Outside, a second suicide bomber wearing an explosives jacket identical to the one worn by kamikaze no. 1 has

REUTERS



just blown himself up. President Hollande who is in the audience is discreetly evacuated.

9.32 p.m. On the junction of Fontaine au Roi and Faubourg du Temple streets in the 11th district, assailants on board a black Seat sedan kill five persons and injure eight others at the bar La Bonne Bière. All eight injured are battling for their lives. There too police find about a hundred 7.62 mm calibre spent cartridges.

Just four minutes later, at 9.36 p.m., at 92 rue de Charonne, patrons of the Belle Equipe restaurant are gunned down in a similar fashion. The attackers fire several staccato rounds, killing 19 people. Again, over a hundred spent cartridges are found.

Another four minutes go by and at 9.40 p.m. the black Seat has pulled up outside another bar called the Comptoir Voltaire at 23 boulevard Voltaire. A third suicide bomber activates an explosives belt identical to the one used by the kamikaze outside the stadium. One person is seriously hurt while others suffer minor injuries.

At exactly the same time, three men carrying heavy weapons arrive at the Bataclan

concert hall in the 11th district aboard a black Volkswagen Polo. A Californian rock group, Eagles of Death Metal, is playing to a packed house of about 1,500 people. They enter in the middle of the concert, guns blazing. They ask people to come to the front of the hall. Anyone moving or trying to reach for a mobile phone is gunned down instantly. We are doing this because of what you did in Syria and Iraq, they say, shouting "Allahu Akbar (God is great)". They have taken a hundred people hostage.

At 9.53 p.m., a third explosion takes place at the Stade de France. Another suicide bomber has blown himself up in the nearby rue de la Cokerie.

"Whoever took the decision not to interrupt the match is a hero in my eyes. Can you imagine the carnage if they had interrupted the match and allowed the crowds to leave? We did not know then—after the first explosion—that there were two other suicide bombers lurking in the vicinity," sports journalist Jean Roger, who was in the stadium during the match, told INDIA TODAY.

At 12.20 a.m., exactly three hours after the first explosion outside the stadium, President Hollande has given the order to attack. Ten minutes later, by half past midnight, it is all over. In the Bataclan alone, 89 people have been killed. Bodies are piled up amid rivers of blood. Several people, taking advantage of the pauses when the attackers are reloading their Kalashnikovs, manage to escape, clambering through bathroom hatches.

12.20 a.m. President Hollande has made his first declaration on television. His voice is choked with emotion but his eyes are hard as stone and determined. "I have given the order to attack. I have decided to mobilise all necessary forces to neutralise the terrorists. I have also called in military reinforcements. As I speak, they are advancing on Paris to ensure there are no further attacks. The assault is not yet over. I have declared a national emergency. This is war."

The enemy is known, the president said, and France will retaliate.

Exactly three hours after the first explosion, it was all over.

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Paris and Mumbai: similar plots, different responses

MUMBAI 26/11

Pakistani attackers from LeT, trans-border infiltration.

Coordinated attacks on multiple, lightly guarded soft targets.

All six targets were within a three-sq-km area of India's commercial capital.

SIMILARITIES



ORIGIN



TARGET



LOCATION

DIFFERENCES



ATTACKS



COVERAGE

PARIS 13/11

Self-contained cells with members from Belgium, France and Syria.

Coordinated attacks on six separate unguarded targets frequented by civilians.

Six of the seven targets were within a 3.6-sq-km radius.

Attacks over within three hours. Orders to storm theatre were given by the president at midnight.

A media blackout was imposed soon after the attacks.

NO TIME TO KILL

Many have compared these latest attacks in Paris to the multiple attacks in Mumbai in November 2008. The *Charlie Hebdo* killings of January 2015 were similarly brutal, but they were targeted. The 13/11 attacks were shocking in their randomness. They were meticulously planned and executed with sangfroid.

While it is true that the Mumbai killings



AFF

were the precursors of what happened in Paris, there are significant differences.

Mumbai agonised for three days while the killing spree continued. There appeared to be no clear chain of command. Senior police officers went chasing after the terrorists but were themselves killed. Belligerent and irresponsible electronic media gave the terrorists' handlers in Pakistan crucial information about the moves on the ground.

In France the chain of command was clear. It started right at the top. There was no waffling and the operation was completed with astounding speed and efficiency. Within minutes the injured were whisked off to hospital. It took the French a mere three hours to put an end to the hostage crisis. The media refrained from showing pictures of the assault on the Bataclan. The seven terrorists who died had come with martyrdom in their heads. They all wore extremely sophisticated explosive vests and were determined to die. Six of them managed to blow themselves up. The seventh fell to a police bullet. And the eighth, Saleh Abdeslam, escaped.

The investigation has been swift. All the seven terrorists have now been identified and the leads point to the Brussels suburb of Molenbeek, a

hotbed of radical Islam. The cars used in the operation have been traced, as have the persons who hired them. Police have posted a 'look out' for the eighth terrorist who managed to get away. There have been several arrests and the cooperation between Belgium and France is going apace. The search for the mastermind, who has been identified as Abdelhamid Abaaoud, 27, believed to be a brutal executioner for the IS, is on and led police to conduct a pre-dawn raid and a furious firefight at an apartment building in Saint-Denis, 9 km north of the centre of Paris on November 18 where two suspects were killed and seven arrested.

France has kept its word. Rafale fighters began a relentless bombing campaign against IS strongholds in Syria the day after the killings. Several military units have been pressed into service and France will not hesitate to even ratchet up its national debt to pay for all the expenditure that meeting the challenge from IS will entail, Hollande said.

The French have realised that their strategy of ignoring Iran or Russia and further isolating Bashar al-Assad has worked against it. They are reconsidering its strategy vis-à-vis Syria and now more willing to enter into a global

**SOLDIERS PATROL
NEAR THE EIFFEL
TOWER THREE
DAYS AFTER THE
HEINOUS ATTACK**



AFTER PARIS

WHILE THERE HAS BEEN NO OVERT HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE COUNTRY'S ESTIMATED SIX-MILLION-STRONG MUSLIM COMMUNITY, MANY FEAR A BACKLASH.

coalition that would include Russia, Iran, Turkey, the US, Britain and other nations to destroy and root out IS.

At a rare and specially invoked joint session of the two houses of parliament at the Palace of Versailles, President Hollande sketched out a veritable battle plan. This is war, he told the gathered parliamentarians and senators, and it has national and international dimensions.

In a speech that sounded very like Donald Rumsfeld's "shock and awe" speech on Iraq, Hollande said: "We shall continue with the air-strikes in the weeks to come. There will be no letting up, no ceasefire."

LIFE IN AN EMERGENCY

A state of emergency has been imposed in France only twice since the Second World War. It was imposed in 1955, during the Algerian war, and in a more limited form during the urban riots of 2005. This time the president is pressing for an extension of the emergency to three months. Legally it can remain in force for 12 days and any extension requires parliamentary approval, which Hollande has asked for. The emergency gives the police sweeping powers to carry out searches and make arrests, intercept phone calls and email messages.

Hollande would like to see the constitution amended to give the state more sweeping powers in order to combat terrorism. In a pointed reference to France's large Maghrebi population, the president said that people suspected of harbouring sympathetic sentiments towards radical Islam and who have opted for dual nationality could be stripped of their French citizenship and deported.

While there has been no overt hostility towards the country's estimated six-million-strong Muslim community, the largest in Europe, many Muslims fear a backlash. "For the moment Marine Le Pen of the (extreme-right-wing) National Front party is keeping quiet—the three days of official mourning are not over and it would be obscene to launch an all-out tirade against the Muslims. But it won't be long in coming. Islam is a part of me because that is my faith. But I am also black, French, also a woman, also a student, a citizen, a sister and a daughter. To identify me only on the basis of my religion or race in a state as secular and egalitarian as this is simply wrong," says Karima Keita, a black student activist from Mali.

France has seen many terrorist attacks in the past. 1995 was a particularly bleak year with several attacks in the Paris metro, at synagogues, on trains and in schools. Terrorism linked to radical Islam is a relatively new phenomenon, culminating in the dramatic attack on the editorial staff of the satirical weekly *Charlie Hebdo* in which 19 people were killed.

But the recent killings have been a game changer. It has brought home to the French how very vulnerable their open society really is. "We have been a happy-go-lucky nation revelling in our love for freedom, elegance, good food, wine, beautiful women. I do not think we shall be the same again. As a nation we will all be looking over our shoulder," says Didier Serfati, a young student who decided at the last minute not to join friends who were partying at Le Carillon. "I was tired. I had had a long day. So I just dropped out. I lost three friends."

The Place de la République is an iconic square a stone's throw away from the attacks in the 11th district. The central statue symbolises France's motto of liberty, equality, fraternity but also *laïcité*—a strict separation between Church and State that resolutely keeps religion out of the public sphere. The Place is buzzing with people. Most of them are silent, leaving flowers, candles and messages of love and condolence. But also of peace. A group here spontaneously breaks into the Marseillaise, France's revolutionary national anthem that calls citizens to arms. A majority of those who lost their lives were young. The attacks were a body blow in the midst of feasting and revelling. "I have come here to mourn. To commune with the spirit of those who died," says Mathilde, who at 73 is wispy haired and bent. "I am almost at the end of my life's journey. But for most of those who died, life had just started. How can we ever forget? France will never be the same again."

REUTERS



PEOPLE MOURN THE PARIS KILLINGS IN LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND



PROTESTERS IN KASHMIR CARRY FLAGS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

ABID BHAT

INDIA'S NEW ENEMY

THE PARIS ATTACKS HAVE RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF STRIKES ON INDIA BY THE IS. THE SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT IS NOW LOOKING FOR A RAFT OF SOLUTIONS.

By Sandeep Unnithan and Amarnath K. Menon

At a high-level intelligence-sharing meeting in Washington DC this June, senior US officials flagged the possibility of IS attacks to their Indian counterparts. India, they said, faced a “massive terrorist threat” from the Islamic State.

It was only the second instance that the IS had figured in the high-level intelligence meetings that begun with the US after the 26/11 attacks in Mumbai. Indian intelligence agencies, almost exclusively focused on the threat of terrorism emanating from Pakistan and the possibility of more Mumbai-style strikes,

were not inclined to take the IS threat seriously then. Although the IS had attracted a handful of young Indian Muslims through a ferocious social media outreach, and had declared India to be part of the ‘Khorasan province’, covering Afghanistan and Pakistan, in IS propaganda, the group was largely seen as being a problem confined to West Asia.

That attitude changed swiftly after November 13. On November 16, three days after the Paris attacks, the home ministry issued a nationwide alert accepting that the terror group was expanding its arc beyond its core areas of Iraq and Syria. The IS, the alert states, has been piggybacking on terror groups operating in India, and that there is a high possibility of



AFTER PARIS

IS-sponsored terror attacks in the country.

"The whole world is under threat from the IS. It is a global challenge and we have to deal with it together," Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh told the media on November 17.

The home ministry has advised all states and union territories to take preventive measures around all foreign missions, tourist spots and community facilities frequented by foreigners. It has advised the review and strengthening of security facilities for foreign nationals from the US, UK, France, Russia, Israel, Turkey and Australia.

According to an Indian intelligence officer, India is in the second tier of countries on the list of IS targets—the West remains the terror organisation's primary target. "The IS has no cause to hit India at present, but they would like to carry out a major aggravating strike mainly to highlight our proximity to the United States and Israel," he says.

This is a near identical Indian security assessment of al Qaeda post the 9/11 attacks and also a reason the Mumbai attackers in 2008 targeted Israeli nationals.

IS, the successor to al Qaeda's apocalyptic legacy, has amplified the threat with its mastery of social media as a recruitment tool. It now presents a three-fold threat far greater than al Qaeda ever did in its heyday: lone wolf attacks carried out by self-radicalised youth, a Mumbai-style attack executed on Indian and foreign targets on Indian soil, and finally the possibility of an Indian militant group pledging allegiance to IS like groups such as Boko Haram have done.

A particular area of concern is J&K where the home ministry has warned of strikes. The security

establishment is not alarmed by Kashmiri youths waving IS flags in downtown Srinagar, which is largely seen as attempts to get publicity. The real danger, a senior police officer in Srinagar warns, is the possibility of a breakaway Kashmiri militant group pledging allegiance to the IS. "It could get even more complicated if this group is recognised by IS as a so-called 'wilayat' (province). IS would then claim to have a presence in India," he says.

Terrorism experts say the advent of IS marks a new challenge since the 26/11 strikes because existing deficiencies in India's security architecture have not been fixed.

"We have not been able to distinguish between risk and vulnerability," says Ajai Sahni, executive director of the New Delhi-based Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies. "Our vulnerabilities, post 26/11 continue because we have not addressed our policing capabilities. What fluctuates is the risk."

SELF-RADICALISED RECRUITS

In November 2014, Indian intelligence agencies were stunned by the return of Areeb Majeed, a 24-year-old youth from Kalyan, a Mumbai suburb. A civil engineering student, Majeed had accompanied three others from Kalyan to join the IS ranks in Syria. He told his police interrogators that he had been trained to become a suicide bomber by IS handlers, but disillusioned with the organisation, had returned. His three companions—Saleem Tanki, Fahad Sheikh and Aman Sheikh—are listed as missing, believed to be dead. Suddenly, Indian authorities realised that the world's third largest Muslim population was no longer insulated from the lure of

BANKING ON ITS EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH MAOISTS, TELANGANA POLICE FOLLOWS A PLAN TO TALK AND WALK BACK MUSLIM YOUTH FROM THE EDGE OF SECTARIAN EXTREMISM.

AYAAN (PSEUDONYM), 20

Engineering dropout who went with Musaib. Put through counseling. Has resumed studies since then.



MUSAIB (PSEUDONYM), 21

Computer student who tried to join IS by traveling to Dhaka in August 2014. Stopped by Telangana police.



AREEB MAJEED, 24

A civil engineering student from Kalyan, near Mumbai, he returned after serving with IS for six months.



pan-Islamic extremism.

One study by the British House of Commons Defence Committee released in February this year estimates that handles sympathetic to the organisation post about 90,000 tweets each day. Many recruiters actively solicit global recruits to come and fight in their 'Caliphate'. Virtually all the 20 or so Indians believed to have traveled to IS-held territories were radicalised through social media.

Saifuddin (name changed), a Hyderabad-based MBA, for instance says he got in touch with a person who identified himself as Mohammed-Ibn-Al Bara and claimed to be a Syria-born Australian citizen carrying out aid work in conflict-hit Syria. "He convinced me to join as a volunteer and asked me to reach Turkey and then cross over to Syria," he says. Saifuddin aborted his plan after policemen knocked on his door in August last year, a week before he was to leave for Turkey after getting a visa. He is now working as an independent foreign exchange trader.

The possibility of strikes by IS adds a new dimension to the problem of radicalised youth, particularly since the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) advisory warns that the organisation has been successful in radicalising youths and attracting locals in India and people from the Indian diaspora to participate in its activities.

India has virtually no intelligence-gathering on the IS and relies on secondary intelligence obtained from the US, Britain and Russia through information-sharing agreements.

"But it is not enough to know where Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the IS leader, is—we must know what he and the leadership are thinking,"

one intelligence officer says. But such information is hard to come by. Government sources say the first steps towards establishing some intelligence-sharing capability were taken in June this year with the appointment of former Intelligence Bureau chief Asif Ibrahim as the Prime Minister's special envoy for counter-terrorism. Ibrahim is believed to have played a key role in obtaining the release of 46 Indian nurses held captive by the IS in the Iraqi city of Mosul last June.

The priority for both MHA and state home departments remains on how to firewall Indian Muslims from IS's notorious online reach.

THE TELANGANA MODEL

As a concrete step, the MHA held a meeting with the police of 12 vulnerable states on July 30 and discussed the problem of IS radicalisation. The approach discussed was a radical departure from simply jailing youths who wanted to join their ranks. Areeb Majeed is an exception, and remains lodged in Mumbai's Arthur Road Jail, because he actually took part in the fighting and was arrested by the NIA. He was later chargesheeted under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA). The plan to tackle youth yet to travel to the IS is going to be counseling and de-radicalisation.

Perhaps the biggest catch for the Indian authorities since Majeed's return from the IS front was the arrest of Afsha Jabeen, 38, who was deported from the UAE and arrested on arrival in Hyderabad on September 11. According to the police, Jabeen has used the IS ideology to radicalise people and even convince non-Muslims to

THE REAL DANGER, A SENIOR POLICE OFFICER IN SRINAGAR WARNS, IS THE POSSIBILITY OF A BREAKAWAY KASHMIRI MILITANT GROUP PLEDGING ALLEGIANCE TO THE ISLAMIC STATE.



PROTESTS OUTSIDE
JAMIA MASJID, SRINAGAR,
WITH PAKISTAN, IS AND
LASHKAR FLAGS

ABID BHAT

GUEST
COLUMN



KANWAL SIBAL

NO EASY BATTLE

France faces a host of external and internal challenges as it gears up to fight the IS

No words would be strong enough to condemn the wanton killings in Paris by terrorists owing allegiance to the Islamic State (IS). But denouncing the inhumanity of the IS is one thing, finding an answer to the challenge it poses to France and others is another. No easy options are available. President Francois Hollande has declared war on the IS, but it cannot wage it alone, both politically and militarily.

France has stepped up airstrikes against the IS targets in Syria, but such strikes have been conducted by the US for a year now, with limited ground results. If 8,000-plus US sorties have not destroyed the IS infrastructure and capacity to carry out well-coordinated attacks against a major country like France already on high alert because of previous assaults, what can increased French sorties achieve in practical terms?

When the IS first emerged, US President Barack Obama declared that it would take a long time to destroy it. He did not consider the use of military force alone as a solution. Why the leader of the world's foremost military power, faced with a ragtag force of dubious origin, equipped with looted military stores and funds from smuggled out oil, should have sounded so resigned seemed puzzling. Obama has underlined once again at some length at the G-20 summit why it would not be an easy task to eliminate the IS. He has emphatically ruled out boots on the ground, arguing that the US

would be compelled to permanently occupy the areas recovered from the IS, as they would be re-occupied by it once the US troops withdrew.

This sense of realism may do credit to Obama's political judgment about the need to avoid past mistakes but when expressed publicly it signals not only the US's reluctance to get embroiled in further wars in West Asia but also boosts the morale of the IS, conveying that the one remaining superpower has no immediate answer to the challenge this group poses.

To forge international solidarity that goes beyond sharing France's grief, a common political platform has to be forged with Russia, Iran, Turkey and West Asian countries in particular. With a host of Chechens in the IS ranks, Russia has decided to fight this ideology in Syria before it spills into Russian territory. West Asian countries have connived at the creation of the IS as a bulwark against the expansion of Iranian power. Turkey, more concerned about the Kurds than the IS, has played an ambiguous role in furthering its regional ambitions. The West, intent on toppling Bashar al-Assad, has been playing with extremist elements. It still does not see Assad as part of a solution, even though his army alone can provide boots on the ground to evict the IS from Syria. France is only one player in this melange of competing and conflicting political interests. A consensus can be found ideally in the UN Security Council, which India would favour. For that Russia-US/EU relations have to be redressed.

France has to address internal issues too in its fight against the IS. Frenchmen form the largest contingent of those from Europe fighting alongside the IS, which reflects social fractures in the country. Anti-Islamic and anti-immigration sentiment, already rising in the country, will get exacerbated by the Paris attacks. France as a liberal democracy has limited room to manoeuvre in clamping down on existing freedoms. More robust anti-terrorism policies at home could create more social cleavages.

In sum, a host of external and internal challenges face France as it gears up to combat the unspeakable IS.

Kanwal Sibal is former foreign secretary of India

FRANCOIS HOLLANDE ADDRESSES THE
GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO, IN PARIS



REUTERS

**FRENCHMEN
FORM THE
LARGEST
CONTINGENT OF
THOSE FROM
EUROPE FIGHTING
ALONGSIDE
THE IS, WHICH
REFLECTS SOCIAL
FRACTURES IN
THE COUNTRY.**

convert through Facebook groups, although she was not in touch with any IS leader and was only a motivator, not a recruiter.

The police say Jabeen, who earlier worked with a travel agency in UAE, began to get radicalised in 2008. Pregnant at the time, she watched videos on YouTube and read jihadi literature online. On Facebook groups, she reportedly urged young Indians to establish a Caliphate in India and wanted the ISIS supremo, Al Baghdadi, to be idolised by Muslims the world over. "She says she engaged people on Facebook groups to appreciate the supremacy of Islam," recalls a senior intelligence officer.

An MHA official says the case is slightly different in India: "Indian Muslims are temperamentally different from Muslims in West Asia or in Africa. The reasons for alienation and indoctrination that exist abroad are absent here." The MHA now wants the police of other states to emulate the example of Telangana State Police, which claims to have successfully prevented at least 16 potential IS recruits from joining the extremist organisation over the past one year.

Indian recruits to IS are still miniscule when compared to western nations. The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR) believes that up to 1,500 French nationals, 1,200 Russians, 600 British and German nationals make up an IS's foreign legion of nearly 20,000 fighters.

THE COUNSELLING ROUTE

Banking on its earlier experience in weaning away some of those inspired by left-wing extremism, the Telangana Police follows what has until now turned out to be an effective plan to talk and walk back Muslim youth from the edge of sectarian extremism. It banks on counselling to win over the impressionable minds and victims of online radicalisation. This is also in consonance with the state government's soft-line approach in dealing with minority issues and handling those found sympathetic and supportive of the IS. Police officers keep a close and constant watch on internet users to track those attracted to IS ideology.

There are some hiccups in tracking social media accounts of potential suspects, they say, as Facebook, for one, is not consistent in granting access to profiles of potential recruits under investigation.

When such cases are spotted, the police act quickly. In the case of four youngsters, all in their early 20s trying to obtain Turkish visas, intelligence agencies were constantly monitoring them. After their visas got cancelled, the four planned to illegally cross over

to Bangladesh where a handler promised to facilitate their travel to Turkey. They travelled from Karimnagar, near Hyderabad, to Kolkata by train last August. The Telangana police intercepted them in a Kolkata lodge.

All potential IS recruits stopped in their tracks have been put through counselling sessions. The police claim it has yielded positive results so far—those tracked and persuaded to change their minds are now either pursuing a professional career or continuing their studies. They refrain from browsing pro-ISIS websites. This is possible because inputs based on monitoring of radical social media platforms is shared with the local police and, in turn, elders in the family. If possible, local religious leaders are also roped in to make the recruits realise the futility of their misplaced idealism.

"We spend time to explain how their imagination is fired online by the exploits of so-called do-gooders and that a reality check would show it is a sour dream," a senior Telangana intelligence officer says about the counselling exercise. Experiences of ISIS survivors and returnees are also shared with potential recruits. "Education is a better alternative to enforcement because the learning of these impressionable minds is limited to social media exposure," says another intelligence officer. Counsellors interact with each individual directly as well as through those close to them who the police believe might convince these radical youths.

Some officers involved in the counter-radicalisation measures lament the lack of involvement of Muslims scholars and other opinion makers in Muslim society, and their negligible presence on social media to interpret Islam in its true light and explain to these radicalised youths its values.

Not everyone in the security and intelligence establishment approves of this strategy to neutralise an extremist ideology. Those opposed to it, particularly in the Intelligence Bureau, point out that like in the case of disillusioned or former Maoists cadres and sympathisers, those imbued by online Islamic radicalisation will eventually return to their erratic ways. They contend that the sway of extremist doctrines will not wear off unless these individuals are handheld into building careers because most of these people come from the rapidly emerging Muslim middle class with growing economic aspirations.

But, for now, the Telangana Police's model seems to have found more takers. Because, as the officers in Hyderabad say, the alternative—of doing nothing—is worse.

Follow the writers on Twitter @SandeepUnnithan and @AmarnathKMenon



AFSHA JABEEN, 38, ARRESTED ON ARRIVAL IN HYDERABAD ON SEPTEMBER 11, WAS A HOUSEWIFE BASED IN UAE WHO USED THE IS IDEOLOGY TO RADICALISE YOUTHS AND CONVINCED EVEN MANY NON-MUSLIMS TO CONVERT—ALL THROUGH FACEBOOK GROUPS.



AFTER PARIS

UNITED, STATES INDIA

AS PARIS PICKS UP THE PIECES, PERHAPS IT COULD LEARN A THING OR TWO ON HOW TO NEGOTIATE ITS MULTI-CULTURAL FUTURE FROM INDIA'S 172 MILLION MUSLIMS

By Jyoti Malhotra

As the Paris terror attacks change the way the rest of the world looks at terror, Indian Muslims say the sense of siege that other Muslims feel in several parts of the world is largely absent in India, and that indeed, the world must learn from the Indian Muslim example. To begin at the beginning, the French concept of “laïcité”, or secularism, that is fundamental to the separation of Church from the State according to its 1905 law, is completely different from the Preamble to the Indian Constitution, which guarantees “liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship”.

In Sanskrit, that phrase is translated as “*vicharasye abhivaktaye asthaha, dharmasya upasanayascha swatantrata*”; and it reads

“*azaadi, fikr, izhaar, aqide, deen aur ibadat ki*” in the Urdu translation. In all three languages, freedom to practice all of the above is essential.

India's founding fathers who wrote the Constitution through the gruesome experience of Partition must have carefully weighed each word in the barometer of history. A million people were killed, burnt, and raped and several million uprooted, even as contestations and arguments raged in the Constituent Assembly.

In the home of the great democratic values of liberty, equality and fraternity—in which scores of people were killed in the Reign of Terror that accompanied the French Revolution—secularism meant a total divorce between religion and politics. Through the wars of independence waged during the 1950s-60s in former French colonies such as Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Senegal, the French used their democratic codes like lines in stone: Islam had no place in

PEACE AND FAITH
MEET AT EIDGAH,
ALLAHABAD

PTI





AFTER PARIS

INDIAN MUSLIMS
HAVE STAYED OFF
GLOBAL 'JIHAD'



CHANDRADEEP KUMAR

IN EUROPE,
UNLIKE IN
INDIA, MUSLIM
VOICES IN THE
PUBLIC SPHERE
REMAIN FEW
AND FAR
BETWEEN.

the politics of aspiration.

Laicite also meant that no quarter was given to any religious grouping. So when *Charlie Hebdo's* cartoonists were warned not to caricature Prophet Muhammed because it was an insult to the Islamic faith, they laughed the warning out of hand.

India did it differently, says political analyst Gopalkrishna Gandhi. It stayed with Mahatma Gandhi's understanding of faith being integral to the moral high ground—even if Nehru, at first, demurred—which in turn was the fundamental baseline of politics. Political psychologist Ashis Nandy, who has spent time in France, says that unlike France, India's idea of secularism is steeped in the accommodation of faith: "Remember what Gandhi used to say, 'Those who say that religion should not be mixed with politics understand neither religion nor politics'."

So the question, why have Indian Muslims largely stayed away from the wars that Muslims have fought in other parts of the world, across the Afghanistan-Pakistan space, in Libya, and in Iraq and Syria? Why have Indian Muslims refused to join the Taliban or the al Qaeda and the IS? Even Areeb Majeed, the man from Kalyan, Maharashtra, returned home after fighting for a few months for the IS because, as he told his IS "aamir", he missed his family.

Asaduddin Owaisi, president of the All-India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen and three-time MP from Hyderabad, says there are huge differences in the manner in which Muslims in Europe and those in India are integrated in the societies in which they live. He points out that several hundred Muslims, both men and women, in western nations such as France and Britain are joining the jihad in IS-held Iraq, and that this is largely unheard of in India. "We may have groups such as the Indian Mujahideen, but you never hear about Muslims waging war against their nation. We may have several problems of political representation or human rights. You may hate me for my politics, but the fact is that you cannot deny me my voice—you have to hear me out," Owaisi tells INDIA TODAY.

In Europe on the other hand, Muslim voices in the public sphere remain few and far between. France's 8 per cent Muslim population out of a total of 66 million, mostly first- and second-generation immigrants from its former colonies in North Africa, is the largest in the continent, but large parts remain severely marginalised. Owaisi, who studied law at Lincoln's Inn, London, believes that one reason for their continued marginalisation is their inability to politically represent their communities in their

adopted homeland. "As a result, a vacuum has been created which has been filled up with fissiparous tendencies. That hasn't happened in India," he says.

DIFFERENT STROKES

Perhaps the much more malleable interpretation of secularism and politics in India, dating back to Ashoka in the 2nd century BC, has something to do with it. Gopal Gandhi points out that counterpoints in medieval Europe always turned around ecclesiastical thought versus secularism and religion versus profanity. But in India, the meaning of secularism went much deeper than tolerance. As Islam sought new adherents in a Hindu-majority India, it seeped into the older faith and drew from it as well.

"India has a different take on differences, which are recognised as natural and normal," Gandhi says. "Our great leaders asked us to respect those differences—and not only tolerate them—which we have largely done." But he points out that it would be foolish to romanticise the deep divisions that exist between religious communities.

Human rights lawyer Maja Daruwala puts it simply: "All of us belong to India: Hindus, Muslims, Christians. We didn't come from anywhere else. We have nowhere else to go."

Does that mean the French and Belgian men who attacked Paris, all of them first-generation Europeans of Maghreb origin, didn't feel French or Belgian enough? That they needed to introduce mind-numbing fear and terror in the countries they were born in?

Nandy points to the facts: it takes decades for immigrants to settle and be absorbed in the country of their adoption. Meanwhile, back home in Iraq and Syria, wars are being fought over oil and borders redrawn for equally selfish reasons. According to Nafiz Mossadeg Ahmed, executive director of the Institute for Policy Research & Development in London, the US "war on terror" has killed about 2 million Muslims since 9/11, while western wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have killed double that number of people.

As Paris picks up the pieces, perhaps it could learn how to negotiate its multi-cultural future from India. With 172 million people—the third highest Muslim population in the world after Indonesia and Pakistan—Indian Muslims seem to have effortlessly shown the way to their more confused, angry and frustrated brethren elsewhere. *Laicite* may have served France well for a hundred or so years, but the time may have come for it to expand its own definition of secularism. Follow the writer on Twitter @jomalhotra

THERE IS LIFE BEYOND IIMs

ALTHOUGH INDIAN INSTITUTES OF MANAGEMENT CONTINUE TO RULE, PRIVATE SCHOOLS ARE CATCHING UP WITH MORE OF THEM STORMING INTO THE TOP 20

By Shweta Punj

Management education holds the pride of place for millions of students who aspire to lead and build businesses. That's what motivated 30-year-old Akanksha Sethi to do a master's in business administration after a seven-year journalism stint. "I was always an academic person and wanted to study further. As I was turning 30, my parents wanted me to get married, but I wanted to build a career and spending two years on an MBA didn't make sense. So I opted for a one-year programme at the Indian School of Business (ISB, Hyderabad)."

MBA curriculums have largely been structured around enhancing cognitive abilities. Entry to almost every big business school is governed by the daunting CAT exam—where one's maths and science skills are put under intense scrutiny. Sethi is perhaps a sign of how things might be changing slowly in the world of business schools that have traditionally focused on a certain profile—students from an engineering or finance background. With a degree in forest management and a career in journalism, she brought to the table a

	RANK 2015	RANK 2014	TOP 10 INSTITUTES
	1	1	Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad
	2	2	Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta
	3	3	XLRI, Jamshedpur
	4	5	S.P. Jain Institute of Management & Research, Mumbai
	5	6	Management Development Institute, Gurgaon
	6	4	Faculty of Management Studies, University of Delhi
	7	7	Indian Institute of Management, Kozhikode
	8	8	Indian Institute of Management, Indore
	9	9	International Management Institute, New Delhi
	10	10	Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi

IIM-A DIRECTOR
ASHISH NANDA
WITH STUDENTS
ON CAMPUS



TOP 10 GOVERNMENT INSTITUTES

RANK	INSTITUTE	OVERALL RANK	COURSE FEE (Rs)	ANNUAL AVERAGE SALARY (Rs)	ANNUAL HIGHEST SALARY (Rs)
1	Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad	1	12,00,000	20,47,633	53,00,000
2	Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta	2	10,23,400	20,00,000	Data not shared
3	Faculty of Management Studies, University of Delhi	6	21,560	17,04,000	35,00,000
4	Indian Institute of Management, Kozhikode	7	12,40,000	15,22,000	29,50,000
5	Indian Institute of Management, Indore	8	11,70,000	13,90,000	35,00,000
6	Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi	10	13,50,000	13,73,000	24,00,000
7	National Institute of Industrial Engineering, Mumbai	12	4,40,000	13,65,000	24,50,000
8	Vinod Gupta School of Management, IIT, Kharagpur	16	6,00,000	12,27,000	18,37,000
9	Department of Management Studies, IIT, New Delhi	17	4,20,000	13,27,000	19,82,000
10	Indian Institute of Management, Shillong	19	10,50,000	13,04,000	21,00,000

*Source: India Today Group-MDRA Best B-schools Survey 2015



**IIM-CALCUTTA
STUDENTS WITH DEAN
UTTAM KUMAR**

different skill set—and that's what business schools and hiring managers are making an attempt to do: diversify to include more women and men of varying backgrounds and experience.

Sethi was one of the three women aged 30-plus in a batch of 700. "There were companies that didn't shortlist me during campus placement—typically such companies hire only engineers—but then there were old firms such as the Aditya Birla Group that did, and I went up to the last round with them," she says. Sethi now works with strategy consultant Parthenon in Mumbai.

You can opt to complete an MBA for a few thousand rupees on the internet or for several lakhs of rupees depending on the institution you get into, but remember that an institution's credibility depends on factors such as faculty, curriculum and placement record. Companies compete to hire from the best business schools simply because in their experience students from the top schools come somewhat prepared to take on real-life challenges.

This year's India Today Group-MDRA survey of 269 of India's best business schools reveals that this might well be the best time to be a student of business management, specially if one happens to be enrolled in a leading business school. While change is

SUBIR HALDER



RAJWANT RAWAT

M.L. SINGLA, DEAN OF FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT STUDIES, WITH STUDENTS

the only constant in life, in business school rankings certain institutions continue to hold steady year after year. The Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad (IIM-A) is India's best B-school yet again, a position it has maintained since 2003. There are some that have been consistently moving up the ranks. For instance, Mumbai's S.P. Jain Institute of Management and Research has climbed one spot from last year to fourth position in 2015; it was ranked No. 7 in 2013. Similarly, Management Development Institute, Gurgaon, made it to the fifth spot, up from sixth in 2014 and eighth in 2013.

Some reputed institutions are missing from the list because they either did not participate in the survey (IIM-Bangalore and IIM-Lucknow) or did not submit their objective data on time. The common thread running across top rankers was top-of-the-line campus placements.

Besides traditional recruiters such as banking and financial services and consulting, the survey finds that not only are finance, private equity and venture capital firms making a beeline again to B-school campuses, even internet and e-commerce and technology companies jumping on the bandwagon. Companies such as Flipkart, Amazon, OlaCabs, Quikr, Snapdeal and Uber were among the major recruiters in the last round of top B-school campus placements, offering packages up to 25 per cent higher

**Jai Mrug** founder, M76 Analytics in Mumbai, and IIT-Bombay alumnus

WHY ONE SHOULD PREFER A GOVERNMENT B-SCHOOL

- 1 **EXTENSIVE RESEARCH NETWORK**
They provide extensive research tie-ups as well as research work built over a period of time that helps obtain strategic insights—something that is difficult to obtain from other networks.
- 2 **ACADEMIC AND CONSULTING NETWORK**
Extensive academic and consulting network that involves multi-disciplinary faculties and makes for wholesome consulting and product development. Again something rare within a private enterprise.
- 3 **LOWER TUITION FEES**
Invariably the government B-Schools offer lower tuition fees by virtue of enjoying government support.
- 4 **HUGE TERTIARY AND SUPPORT FACILITIES**
Access to large campuses and other facilities such as libraries, convention centres, guesthouses. Extensive access to students who could work as interns and from various disciplines.
- 5 **WIDE ALUMNI NETWORK**
An extensive alumni network helps in excellent business networking and business development.



VIVAN MEHRA

MDI-GURGAON STUDENTS WITH DIRECTOR C.P. SHRIMALI ON CAMPUS

TOP 10 PRIVATE INSTITUTES

RANK	INSTITUTE	OVERALL RANK	COURSE FEE (Rs)	ANNUAL AVERAGE SALARY (Rs)	ANNUAL HIGHEST SALARY (Rs)
1	XLRI, Jamshedpur	3	16,75,000	17,00,000	40,00,000
2	S.P. Jain Institute of Management & Research, Mumbai	4	7,80,000	18,09,000	29,50,000
3	Management Development Institute, Gurgaon	5	11,29,000	16,86,000	25,18,000
4	International Management Institute, New Delhi	9	13,23,000	8,90,000	14,00,000
5	Narsee Monjee Institute of Management Studies, Mumbai	11	13,69,000	16,50,000	30,00,000
6	Institute of Management Technology, Ghaziabad	13	12,20,000	9,71,000	21,00,000
7	Xavier Institute of Management, Bhubaneswar	14	13,41,000	12,65,000	20,50,000
8	Symbiosis Institute of Business Management, Pune	15	9,20,000	13,05,000	22,00,000
9	T.A. Pai Management Institute (TAPMI), Manipal	18	13,50,000	8,84,000	16,50,000
10	Birla Institute of Management Technology, Greater Noida	20	9,00,000	7,10,000	21,00,000

*Source: India Today Group-MDRA Best B-schools Survey 2015

than that offered by traditional recruiters. Also, within each sector there were more roles to offer. For instance, in internet and e-commerce, besides established roles such as product manager, category manager and account manager, there were openings in digital marketing, data analytics, operations and supply chain.

Those passing out thus got fatter packages. The average salary offered to an IIM-A student rose from Rs 18 lakh annually last

year to Rs 20 lakh, with some internet and e-commerce firms even offering up to Rs 28-29 lakh. "While traditional sectors such as consulting, finance, FMCG (fast-moving consumer goods) have continued to hire, the buoyancy came from e-commerce," explains Ajit Rangnekar, dean of ISB-Hyderabad which ranks second on our list of one-year MBA schools.

In the case of IIM-A, one-fifth of the students from the last batch opted for jobs in the



Harish Aiyer, Founder, Vanakhethi Agro and Green Technologies Research Organisation, and S.P. Jain Institute of Management & Research, Mumbai, alumnus

WHY ONE SHOULD PREFER A PRIVATE B-SCHOOL

- 1 **UPDATED CURRICULUM**
The curriculum is updated regularly which adds value to the course. In SPJIMR, the bent was always towards social responsibility which increases the understanding and responsibility of students towards society.
- 2 **NEW FACULTY**
Addition of new faculty and the ability to ensure faculty effectiveness is very well managed. This ensures better classroom delivery of the course content.
- 3 **COMPETITION GALORE**
Due to tough competition, innovations and the use of technology and training techniques are continuously researched.
- 4 **INTERNATIONAL EXPOSURE**
Private B-schools tie-up with international universities for accreditations which improves the quality and content of course materials and provides good exposure to students.
- 5 **STATE-OF-THE-ART FACILITIES**
Private business schools give extra attention to providing good hostel facilities to students. State-of-art campuses and campus facilities are maintained.



**XLRI DIRECTOR
A.K. IBRAHIM WITH
STUDENTS**

SOMNATH SEN

e-commerce space, following in the footsteps of predecessors such as Amit Lakhotia, now vice president, business, at Paytm. When Lakhotia graduated from IIM-A in 2007, he had plenty of offers to choose from but what mattered to him was implementing ideas and creating an ecosystem where people have greater opportunities. All his ventures or stints since passing out of IIM-A have been entrepreneurial in nature. "Fundamentally I am one of those who like to build, create—for that, you need the space and liberty. It's difficult to create in a bigger organisation," he says.

Besides IIM-A, 23 per cent of those graduating from the S.P. Jain Institute of Management and Research also took up opportunities in the internet/new-age sector compared to 15 per cent a year earlier. The number of students entering the e-commerce space also doubled at XLRI-Xavier School of Management, Jamshedpur, this year.

The interest of e-commerce and internet companies in B-school campus placements is new-found; as late as two years ago, they were mostly focusing on hiring technical talent. With these new players now on board, it is imperative that business schools think ahead and build leaders capable of troubleshooting for new-age companies.

Pramath Raj Sinha, one of the founders of ISB, laments that India has not done a whole lot of innovation in the business school space

DOUBLED

THE NUMBER OF XLRI, JAMSHEDPUR, STUDENTS TAKING UP JOBS IN E-COMMERCE COMPANIES THIS YEAR

and that management education has not kept pace with the times. "People are hiring but there is a mismatch between needs and the talent available," he says. For B-school curricula, problem-solving from a multi-disciplinary perspective and looking at macro trends is going to be the key since most issues dogging businesses—be they old or new—in this day and age are intertwined with what's happening in the economy and at the policymaking level. "The fact is that we teach esoteric things such as derivatives and banking. You need more and more people working with each other, collaborating to get stuff done," he adds.

Sinha has started a Vedica Scholars Programme—an 18-month, full-time, residential, postgraduate certificate offered jointly by the Vedica Foundation and the Sri Aurobindo Centre for Arts and Communication—that intends to bring more women into management programmes; the curriculum includes themes such as communication, analytical thinking, political economy, sustainability, environment, psychology and self-awareness.

From a recruitment perspective too there has been a change. The system has

STUDENTS OF XAVIER INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT, BHUBANESWAR



BISWARANJAN ROUT

SALARIES ARE PROPORTIONATE TO THE RANKINGS



	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15
1-25	12.14	12.64	13.12
26-50	6.38	6.42	7.75
51-75	5.03	5.23	5.77
76-100	4.56	4.70	5.14

*Figures are average domestic salary of the top 100 B-schools (in Rs lakh)

"PEOPLE ARE HIRING BUT THERE IS A MISMATCH BETWEEN NEEDS AND THE TALENT AVAILABLE,"

PRAMATH RAJ SINHA,
CO-FOUNDER, ISB,

RETURN ON INVESTMENT

	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15
1-25	1.5	1.5	1.4
26-50	1.2	1.1	1.2
51-75	0.9	1	1
76-100	1.1	1.1	1

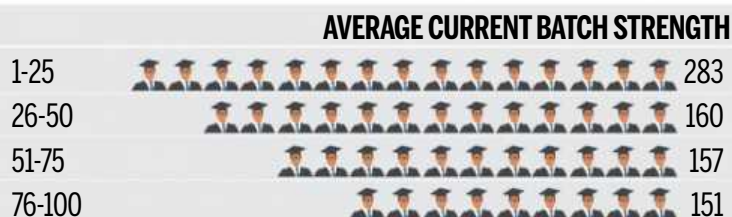


*Return on Investment is calculated as average domestic salary/tuition fee for the entire course

"WHILE TRADITIONAL SECTORS SUCH AS CONSULTING, FINANCE, FMCG HAVE CONTINUED TO HIRE, THE BUOYANCY CAME FROM E-COMMERCE."

AJIT RANGNEKAR, DEAN,
ISB-HYDERABAD

TOP SCHOOLS HAVE MORE STUDENTS COMPARED TO OTHERS



**Figures are average current batch strength of B-schools in 2014/15*

"TODAY'S JOBSEEKERS ARE FAR MORE INFORMED AND FOCUSED. THEY ARE ENTREPRENEURIAL IN NATURE AND WANT TO SEE FASTER GROWTH."

ARIF PARKER, EXECUTIVE V-P, SALES, NAUKRI.COM

TOP 10 COST-EFFECTIVE INSTITUTES

RANK	INSTITUTE	OVERALL RANK	COURSE FEE (Rs)	ANNUAL AVERAGE SALARY (Rs)	RETURN ON INVESTMENT
1	FMS, University of Delhi	6	21,560	17,04,000	79.035
2	Department of Business Management, University of Calcutta	83	15,488	4,80,000	30.992
3	FMS, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda	94	29,000	4,03,000	13.897
4	Jamnalal Bajaj Institute of Management Studies, Mumbai	26	2,10,000	17,42,000	8.295
5	SIMSREE, Mumbai	31	1,38,000	10,22,000	7.406
6	Department of Management Studies, Pondicherry University	74	72,400	3,50,000	4.834
7	PSG Institute of Management, Coimbatore	39	1,80,000	7,20,000	4.000
8	Institute of Management and Entrepreneurship Development, Pune	62	1,75,000	6,50,000	3.714
9	Department of Management Studies, IISc, Bengaluru	32	3,00,000	10,60,000	3.533
10	Department of Management Studies, NIT, Tiruchirappalli	33	2,00,000	7,00,000	3.500

Source: India Today Group-MDRA Best B-schools Survey 2015

evolved from the traditional interview and group discussion process to including games simulating case studies which help shortlist candidates.

When shopping for additions to his workforce, Arif Parker, executive vice president, sales, of Naukri.com, looks for people with communication and leadership skills, analytical thinking, integrity, adaptability and problem-solving skills. "Today's jobseekers are far more informed and focused. They are entrepreneurial in nature and want to see faster growth," he says. The strength of its alumni network is another determining reason for Parker to pick students from a certain business school. Rajkamal Vempati of Axis Bank also looks for similar skills: people

who demonstrate leadership skills and those who can work in large teams. "Apart from cognitive ability, emotional ability and the ability to lead will be important going forward," says Vempati.

It's evident that industry and management schools will have to work together to change the rules of the game. Business schools are recognising the change. The established players are constantly seeking more partnerships with industry. At IIMs, there is an ongoing conversation on the importance of increasing the diversity of student profiles—a majority of those who attend business schools are in their early-to-mid-twenties with little or no work experience.

As B-school students increasingly opt for

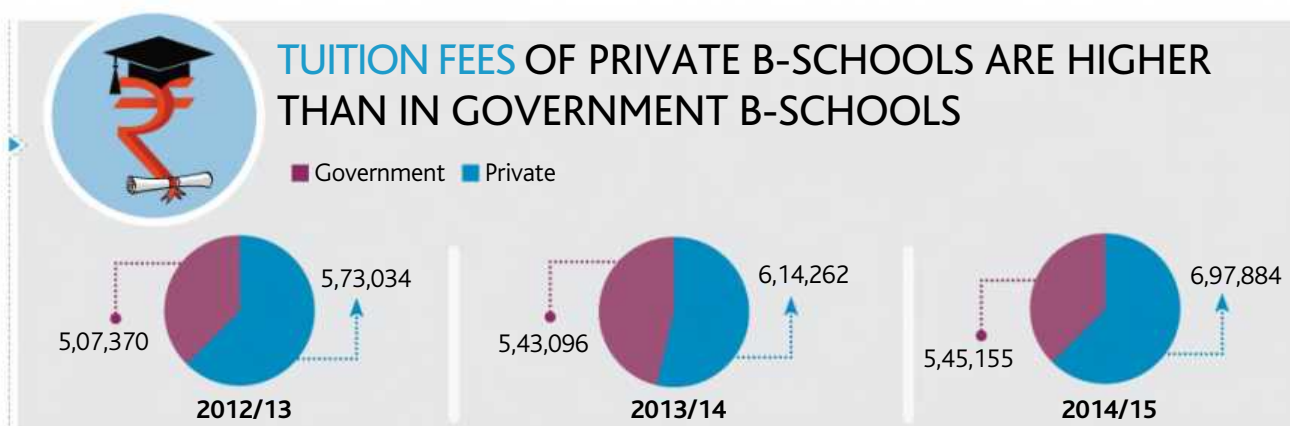
new-age sectors with their hefty pay packages, traditional sectors will have to find ways to attract and retain talent. Axis Bank now runs a programme which gives new hires an opportunity to work with and learn from the in-house top talent through a system of rotation across different business functions. The bank also has a tie-up with ISB to hire women leaders in mid-level leadership roles.

With demand from newer sectors over and above the strong pitch of traditional recruiters, the pace of hiring for the 2013-2015 batch was a record high in some schools. At IIM-Calcutta for instance, placements were completed in two and a half days as against the usual one week. At MDI, all students were placed in three

days flat, and what's more, nearly 60 companies were left with no one to hire.

"While e-commerce has been an important growth driver and will probably stay so next year too, I feel we will see the next growth driver coming in the form of those sectors where there is an interface between technology and finance," says Ranjan Banerjee, dean of S.P. Jain Institute of Management and Research, referring to the emergence of mobile wallets, payment banks and small finance banks which will inevitably look towards top B-schools in the not-too-distant future to supply them with an assembly line of new talent.

In the internet-spawned era of new business, it is evident that the role of analytics will



*Figures are average tuition fees of the top 100 B-schools in Rs



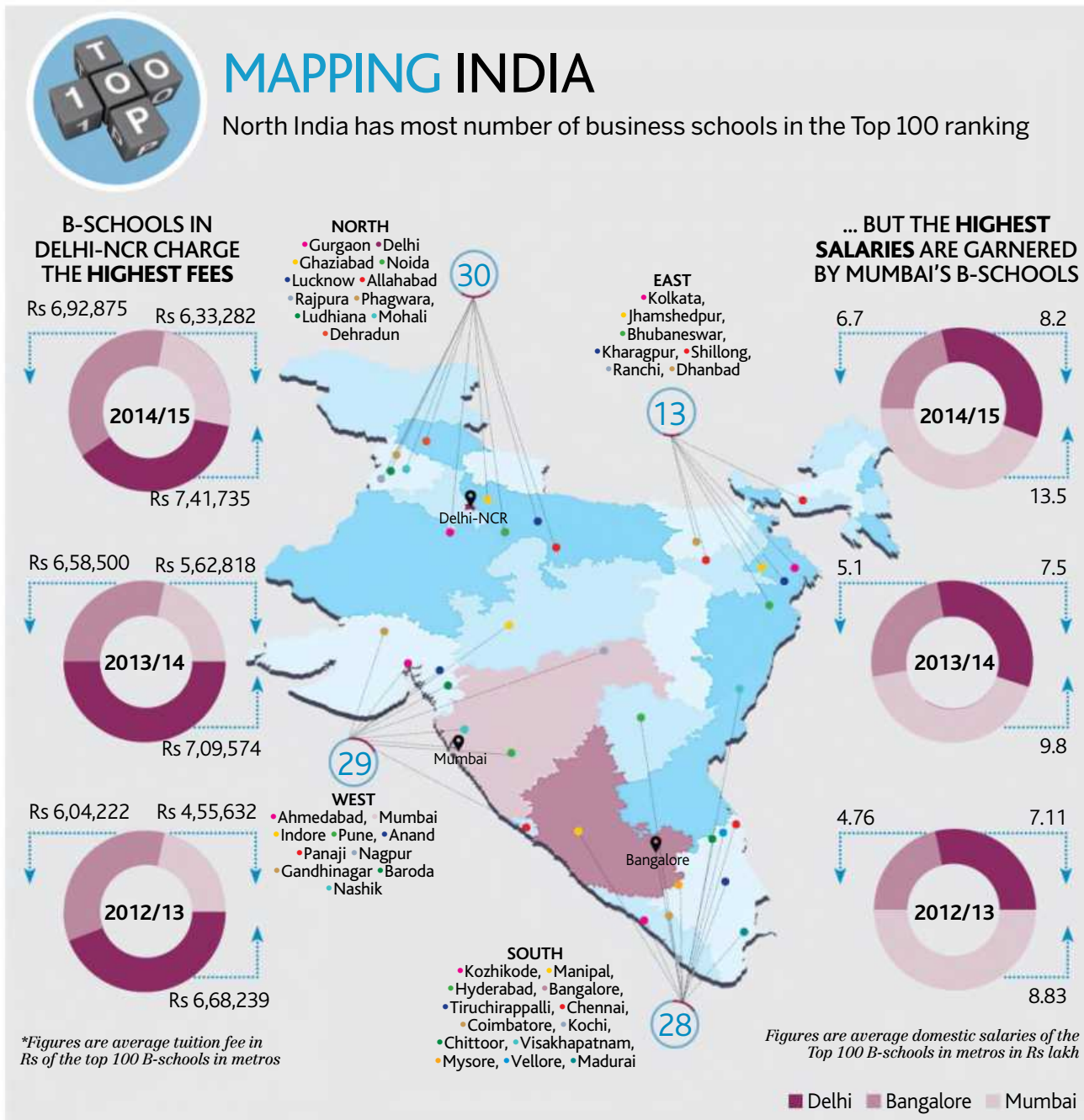
*Figures are average domestic salary in Rs lakh offered among top 100 government and private colleges in 2014/15



*Figures are average current batch strength of B-schools among top 100 government and private colleges in 2014/15

MAPPING INDIA

North India has most number of business schools in the Top 100 ranking



Graphics by RAHUL SHARMA

grow—and that's what business schools are gearing up for. Top B-schools are also introducing changes in the electives offered. In 2013-2014, the XLRI elective paper on basic econometrics was redesigned as applied econometrics for managers and the e-business elective paper was restructured as an elective on electronics, business and marketing; and in marketing, the elective paper on rural marketing was redesigned as marketing

in emerging economies. Teachers across B-schools are looking beyond the lecture format and adding game-based case studies and simulated exercises to their repertoire.

Clearly, business schools are changing, but they will have to be much more agile to meet the needs of a fast growing and changing economy like India.

with E. Kumar Sharma

Follow the writer on Twitter @shwetapunj

OVERALL: ORDER OF MERIT

RANK 2015	RANK 2014	INSTITUTE	ZONE	GOVT/PVT	OVERALL (2,000)	LEARNING EXPERIENCE SCORE (281.5)	RANK
1	1	Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad	West	G	1,868.1	247.1	1
2	2	Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta	East	G	1,858.8	231	2
3	3	XLRI, Jamshedpur	East	P	1,748.7	216.2	8
4	5	S.P. Jain Institute of Management & Research, Mumbai	West	P	1,730.2	221.2	5
5	6	Management Development Institute, Gurgaon	North	P	1,722.4	204	15
6	4	Faculty of Management Studies, University of Delhi	North	G	1,709.4	203.7	16
7	7	Indian Institute of Management, Kozhikode	South	G	1,705.3	204.1	14
8	8	Indian Institute of Management, Indore	West	G	1,688.6	222.9	4
9	9	International Management Institute, New Delhi	North	P	1,678	220.1	6
10	10	Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, New Delhi	North	G	1,641.4	208.2	10
11	11	Narsee Monjee Institute of Management Studies, Mumbai	West	P	1,639.9	205.9	12
12	12	National Institute of Industrial Engineering, Mumbai	West	G	1,608.8	201.9	20
13	DNP	Institute of Management Technology, Ghaziabad	North	P	1,607.3	202.8	17
14	13	Xavier Institute of Management, Bhubaneswar	East	P	1,593.1	195.6	28
15	14	Symbiosis Institute of Business Management, Pune	West	P	1,591.5	186.2	49
16	17	Vinod Gupta School of Management, IIT Kharagpur	East	G	1,589.6	219.3	7
17	15	Department of Management Studies, IIT Delhi	North	G	1,583	198.3	22
18	18	T.A. Pai Management Institute, Manipal	South	P	1,582.9	196.3	27
19	23	Indian Institute of Management, Shillong	East	G	1,536.8	180.8	75
20	20	Birla Institute of Management Technology, Greater Noida	North	P	1,536	204.4	13
21	19	Shailesh J. Mehta School of Management, IIT Bombay	West	G	1,535.2	164.5	118
22	22	Institute of Rural Management, Anand	West	P	1,534.4	197.1	26
23	21	Symbiosis Centre for Management & Human Resource Dvpt., Pune	West	P	1,533.6	183.1	65
24	24	Institute of Management, Nirma University, Ahmedabad	West	P	1,532.2	206.1	11
25	25	Goa Institute of Management, Panaji	West	P	1,529.7	202	19
26	16	Jamnalal Bajaj Institute of Management Studies, Mumbai	West	G	1,524.5	184.7	58
27	27	Prin. L.N. Welingkar Institute of Management, Dvpt. & Research, Mumbai	West	P	1,515.8	213	9
28	28	Lal Bahadur Shastri Institute of Management, New Delhi	North	P	1,483.4	197.2	25
29	26	K.J. Somaiya Institute of Management Studies & Research, Mumbai	West	P	1,481.6	191.7	35
30	29	National Institute of Agricultural Extension Management, Hyderabad	South	G	1,456.5	230.2	3
31	DNP	Sydenham Institute of Management Studies and Research (SIMSREE), Mumbai	West	G	1,450.6	184	62
32	DNP	Department of Management Studies, IISc, Bengaluru	South	G	1,441.4	187.6	44
33	30	Department of Management Studies, NIT, Tiruchirappalli	South	G	1,418.6	182.8	66
34	33	Bharathidasan Institute of Management, Tiruchirappalli	South	P	1,418.3	189.6	37
35	31	AIMS School of Business, Bengaluru*	South	P	1,415.7	201.9	20
36	37	Asia-Pacific Institute of Management, New Delhi	North	P	1,412.5	202.7	18
37	32	Loyola Institute of Business Administration, Chennai	South	P	1,409.5	185.2	53
38	36	Indian Institute of Management, Ranchi	East	G	1,404.6	171.6	96
39	35	PSG Institute of Management (PSG College of Technology), Coimbatore	South	P	1,401.9	193.8	30
40	34	Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Kolkata	East	G	1,399.9	186.7	46
41	41	Institute for Technology and Management, Navi Mumbai	West	P	1,398	184.4	60
42	38	Amity Business School, Amity University, Noida	North	P	1,397.8	183.5	63
42	42	Rajagiri Centre for Business Studies, Kochi	South	P	1,397.8	186.8	45
44	44	Jaipuria Institute of Management, Lucknow	North	P	1,386.5	183.3	64
45	DNP	Institute for Financial Management and Research, Chittoor	South	P	1,384	185.1	54
46	46	School of Management, KIIT University, Bhubaneswar	East	P	1,364.9	193.5	31
47	39	Institute of Management Technology, Nagpur	West	P	1,361.4	189.2	38
48	52	Balaji Institute of Modern Management, Pune	West	P	1,355.3	157.9	144
49	43	Xavier Institute of Management & Entrepreneurship, Bengaluru	South	P	1,353.1	197.6	24
50	51	SCMS Cochin School of Business, Kochi	South	P	1,346	189.1	39

LIVING EXPERIENCE		PLACEMENT PERFORMANCE		SELECTION PROCESS		FUTURE ORIENTATION		OVERALL OBJECTIVE		PERCEPTUAL		EXPERIENTIAL	
SCORE (142.5)	RANK	SCORE (173.5)	RANK	SCORE (202.5)	RANK	SCORE (200)	RANK	SCORE (1,000)	RANK	SCORE (800)	RANK	SCORE (200)	RANK
130	1	149.7	1	174.5	1	167.7	3	869	1	799.1	1	200	1
127	2	146.2	2	172	2	191.7	1	867.9	2	792.6	3	198.3	2
112.3	20	129.5	7	167.6	4	156.8	4	782.4	3	786.1	5	180.2	3
106.9	34	129.3	8	150.6	16	168.6	2	776.6	5	779.6	7	174	4
118.9	9	138.5	4	164.4	5	154.1	7	779.9	4	769.9	10	172.6	5
109.5	25	137.5	5	169.7	3	135.9	11	756.3	8	782.9	6	170.2	6
122.4	5	132.2	6	152.6	11	148.1	8	759.4	7	776.4	8	169.5	7
126.2	4	125.5	12	152	13	122.3	24	748.9	9	773.2	9	166.5	8
112.2	21	116	32	155.2	9	156.2	6	759.7	6	753.7	14	164.6	9
102.3	79	126.6	10	152	13	130.8	17	719.9	12	763.4	12	158.1	13
107.8	30	122.9	16	151.9	15	126.8	20	715.3	13	766.7	11	157.9	14
119.6	7	126.1	11	149.8	17	123	23	720.4	10	727.8	21	160.6	12
106.4	36	117.3	27	149.3	19	130.3	18	706.1	14	750.5	17	150.7	17
105.8	40	115.6	35	149.4	18	135.4	12	701.8	16	744	18	147.3	22
103.6	67	128.5	9	127.2	64	133.2	14	678.7	20	751.5	16	161.3	11
120.2	6	117.2	28	142.4	31	105.5	68	704.6	15	721.4	25	163.6	10
114.6	15	140.4	3	155.4	8	66.1	184	674.8	23	760.2	13	148	20
112.4	19	117.8	25	136.7	39	156.8	4	720	11	714.9	27	148	20
100.4	98	112.7	42	152.4	12	125.5	21	671.8	26	715.8	26	149.2	18
106.4	36	119.9	21	146.6	26	112	47	689.3	17	711.6	28	135.1	34
118.1	11	123.4	15	139.9	34	115.4	37	661.3	31	726.9	22	147	23
116	12	117.9	23	143.9	29	78.9	137	653.8	36	740.8	19	139.8	26
96.5	123	120	20	155.6	7	114.9	39	670.1	28	723.8	24	139.7	27
105.9	38	106.7	49	148	22	109.6	56	676.3	21	704.3	30	151.6	15
102.8	74	104.4	54	135.7	44	134.8	13	679.7	19	701.9	31	148.1	19
82.6	193	125.1	13	142.8	30	98.6	84	633.8	43	752.5	15	138.2	30
87.9	169	114	40	156.7	6	108.8	58	680.4	18	698.7	32	136.7	31
94.8	141	114.4	39	148.3	21	117.4	31	672.1	25	679.9	37	131.4	38
105.3	47	116.1	31	136.5	41	110.7	54	660.3	32	695.4	33	125.9	42
113.3	17	116	32	127.9	59	75.3	150	662.7	30	642.4	47	151.4	16
66.2	246	117.8	25	148.5	20	113.1	42	629.6	45	682.5	36	138.5	29
118.6	10	122.6	17	124.6	74	83.2	127	636.6	41	666.1	40	138.7	28
114.1	16	117.1	30	147.8	23	95.6	90	657.4	33	640.2	49	121	48
97	120	120.9	19	145.6	27	86.2	115	639.3	39	646.9	46	132.1	37
104.9	54	112.8	41	123.3	84	124.1	22	667	29	640	50	108.7	63
102.5	77	117.9	23	119.7	103	132.7	15	675.5	22	629.7	52	107.3	66
83.5	191	114.5	37	147.1	24	90.4	105	620.7	54	647.6	45	141.2	25
77.7	215	118	22	154.7	10	90.9	100	612.9	57	672.8	39	118.9	51
102.1	81	122.5	18	120.8	97	115.6	36	654.8	34	613.1	56	134	35
90.5	162	96.8	70	135	45	68	180	577	76	694.9	34	128	40
107.9	28	98.1	63	124.4	77	111.5	50	626.3	50	636.4	51	135.3	32
100.9	92	114.8	36	124.6	74	104.3	71	628.1	47	651.9	44	117.8	53
96.4	124	123.7	14	128.4	57	138.7	10	674	24	594	62	129.8	39
104	61	102.3	56	136.9	38	111.6	49	638.1	40	621	53	127.4	41
102	82	102.1	57	136.1	42	78.3	141	603.6	62	663.1	41	117.3	54
104.4	59	98	64	117.3	113	112.9	43	626.1	51	603.5	58	135.3	32
101.2	86	112.5	43	128.1	58	96.6	88	627.6	48	613.6	55	120.2	49
112.6	18	117.2	28	138.5	36	107.6	60	633.8	43	578.9	67	142.6	24
102.7	75	95.8	75	114.1	130	142.2	9	652.4	37	578	69	122.7	46
105.4	44	88	105	113.8	133	119.2	27	615.5	56	612.3	57	118.2	52

OVERALL: ORDER OF MERIT

RANK 2015	RANK 2014	INSTITUTE	ZONE	GOVT/PVT	OVERALL (2,000)	LEARNING EXPERIENCE SCORE (281.5)	RANK
51	45	Gitam Institute of Management, Visakhapatnam	South	P	1,337.4	193	32
52	DNP	Institute of Management, Christ University, Bengaluru	South	P	1,334	176.4	86
53	46	Prestige Institute of Management and Research, Indore	West	P	1,327.7	186.2	49
54	57	Vaikunth Mehta National Institute of Cooperative Management, Pune	West	G	1,312.2	184.4	60
55	56	SIES College of Management Studies, Navi Mumbai	West	P	1,308.3	185.5	52
56	50	NIILM Centre for Management Studies, Greater Noida	North	P	1,297.4	179.3	81
57	54	Jagan Institute of Management Studies, New Delhi	North	P	1,294.3	186.6	47
58	53	IFIM Business School, Bengaluru	South	P	1,294	185.1	54
59	DNP	Amrita School of Business, Coimbatore	South	P	1,294	189	40
60	61	Flame School of Business, Pune	West	P	1,292.6	192	34
61	48	Regional College of Management, Bhubaneswar	East	P	1,289.1	197.8	23
62	59	Institute of Management and Entrepreneurship Development, Pune**	West	P	1,258.7	187.9	43
63	64	Shri Dharmasthala Manjunatheshwara Institute (SDMIMD), Mysuru	South	P	1,255.8	165.2	114
64	66	Fortune Institute of International Business, New Delhi	North	P	1,246.9	181.2	73
65	65	Institute of Public Enterprise, Hyderabad	South	G	1,243	180.7	76
66	58	Department of Management Studies, Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad	East	G	1,240.4	174.5	91
67	62	Institute of Rural Management, Jaipur	North	P	1,233.6	186.4	48
68	63	Institute of Management Studies, Ghaziabad	North	P	1,223	181.9	70
69	DNP	School of Mgmt. Studies, Motilal Nehru National Inst. of Tech., Allahabad	North	G	1,220.5	170.8	98
70	60	Indian Institute of Finance, Greater Noida	North	P	1,208.6	181.7	72
71	68	Siva Sivani Institute of Management, Hyderabad	South	P	1,203.7	174.7	89
72	69	Prin. L.N Welingkar Institute of Management Dvpt. & Research, Bengaluru	South	P	1,176.7	185.6	51
73	70	Chitkara Business School, Rajpura	North	P	1,174.5	192.5	33
74	74	Department of Management Studies, Pondicherry University, Puducherry	South	G	1,171.8	167.2	110
75	71	Symbiosis Institute of International Business, Pune	West	P	1,159.6	176.3	87
76	DNP	Bharati Vidyapeeth University Institute of Management and Research, New Delhi	North	P	1,155	170.5	99
77	DNP	International Management Institute, Bhubaneswar	East	P	1,148.2	188.1	41
78	75	PES Institute of Technology, Department of MBA, Bangalore	South	P	1,145.6	121.2	231
79	72	Accurate Institute of Management & Technology, Greater Noida	North	P	1,144.7	155.5	154
80	DNP	Army Institute of Management, Kolkata	East	P	1,139.2	148.5	169
81	85	Lovely Professional University, Phagwara	North	P	1,099.9	117.2	233
82	DNP	School of Petroleum Management, Gandhinagar	West	P	1,091.7	177.9	83
83	73	Department of Business Management, University of Calcutta	East	G	1,085.7	193.9	29
84	DNP	VIT Business School, Vellore	South	P	1,084.1	156.6	151
85	83	Punjab College of Technical Education, Ludhiana	North	P	1,078.7	182.6	67
86	113	IILM Institute, Gurgaon	North	P	1,077.9	191.3	36
87	90	G.L. Bajaj Institute of Management and Research, Greater Noida	North	P	1,069.9	156	153
88	91	Indus Business Academy, Bengaluru	South	P	1,066.5	180	78
89	86	School of Management, Hindustan Institute of Tech. & Science, Chennai	South	P	1,066.4	179.4	80
90	DNP	Gian Jyoti Institute of Management & Technology, Mohali	North	P	1,065.1	181.8	71
91	79	Doon Business School, Dehradun	North	P	1,061.4	181.1	74
92	80	Symbiosis Centre for Information Technology, Pune	West	P	1,044.1	168.7	105
93	96	ICBM School of Business Excellence, Hyderabad	South	P	1,043.5	182.3	68
94	77	Faculty of Management Studies, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda	West	G	1,038	128.3	219
95	88	Symbiosis Institute of Operations Management, Nashik	West	P	1,032.3	143.3	188
96	87	Balaji Institute of Management and HR Development, Pune	West	P	1,032.2	119.8	232
97	109	Thiagarajar School of Management, Madurai	South	P	1,031.6	163.2	127
98	101	Jaipuria Institute of Management, Noida	North	P	1,025.5	164.5	118
99	DNP	Indus Business Academy, Greater Noida	North	P	1,024.7	174.8	88
100	100	Jagannath International Management School, New Delhi	North	P	1,022.6	184.5	59

DNP: Did not participate last year; ranking is based on a combination of objective data, perceptual survey and experiential survey; only those B-schools which submitted their objective data have been considered eligible for participation in ranking: (i) Minimum three batches passed out, (ii) Offering two years full-time PG programme in management; all scores have been rounded off to one decimal place.

LIVING EXPERIENCE		PLACEMENT PERFORMANCE		SELECTION PROCESS		FUTURE ORIENTATION		OVERALL OBJECTIVE		PERCEPTUAL		EXPERIENTIAL	
SCORE (142.5)	RANK	SCORE (173.5)	RANK	SCORE (202.5)	RANK	SCORE (200)	RANK	SCORE (1,000)	RANK	SCORE (800)	RANK	SCORE (200)	RANK
115.8	14	92.9	86	146.7	25	106.3	63	654.7	35	560.8	77	121.9	47
93.6	144	109.6	45	131.1	52	114.7	40	625.4	52	600.6	60	108	64
102.4	78	94.5	80	129.2	55	116.6	33	628.9	46	565.8	76	133	36
105.3	47	115.8	34	127	65	54.1	223	586.6	70	601.7	59	123.9	44
77.3	216	107.8	46	139	35	111.4	51	621	53	574.6	71	112.7	60
79.5	211	91.9	89	136.6	40	110.6	55	597.9	66	583.1	65	116.4	58
81.3	201	99.1	60	133.6	48	112	47	612.6	58	569.2	75	112.5	61
95.2	137	72.9	187	124.7	73	122.1	26	600	63	574	72	120	50
105.9	38	96.4	73	130.5	54	122.2	25	644	38	527.1	90	122.9	45
115.9	13	99.6	59	107.8	184	104.4	70	619.7	55	548	82	124.9	43
104.5	58	105.6	50	132.4	51	131.1	16	671.4	27	516.3	96	101.4	73
103.9	62	97	69	119.8	101	127.8	19	636.4	42	525.4	91	96.9	78
78.7	214	78.4	154	133.4	49	118.2	30	573.9	78	585.3	63	96.6	79
80.7	205	102.7	55	112.8	147	109.6	56	587	69	543.3	84	116.6	56
93.1	146	90.8	94	141.7	33	72.3	167	578.6	75	569.7	74	94.7	83
98.7	109	83.3	129	126	69	79.4	133	561.9	86	584.1	64	94.4	84
105.7	41	96.5	72	128.8	56	77	146	594.4	67	540	85	99.2	75
84.1	188	83.4	128	134.5	47	115.1	38	599	64	506.7	101	117.3	54
107.7	32	78	156	130.8	53	84.3	122	571.6	79	557.3	78	91.6	85
100.8	94	96	74	142.2	32	106.2	64	626.9	49	491.7	103	90	86
105.4	44	91.7	90	116	122	75.1	151	562.9	83	551.6	80	89.2	89
96.8	122	107	47	113.4	138	106.2	64	609	60	456.8	115	110.9	62
101.1	88	91.2	93	109.5	173	104.1	73	598.4	65	469.1	109	107	67
84.4	186	71.2	195	123.4	83	78.5	140	524.7	130	549.7	81	97.4	77
82.8	192	97.6	67	136	43	116.8	32	609.5	59	436.4	121	113.7	59
76.2	221	114.5	37	134.7	46	61.1	206	557	88	515.4	97	82.6	94
102.3	79	106.8	48	114.1	130	67.6	182	578.9	74	487.6	104	81.7	95
93.8	143	72.1	190	137.9	37	105.2	69	530.2	123	534	88	81.4	96
105	52	75.5	172	81.2	268	85.5	116	502.7	158	539.5	86	102.5	71
79.6	209	98.2	62	120.2	100	68.2	179	514.7	145	543.9	83	80.6	100
95.2	137	65	225	108.4	180	111.3	52	497.1	169	507.7	99	95.1	81
85.2	180	95.8	75	123.2	85	70	174	552.1	93	465.2	111	74.4	107
100.9	92	83.8	125	127.5	62	69.4	176	575.5	77	424.8	124	85.4	91
103.8	64	67.9	214	105.6	200	73.8	161	507.7	153	459.8	113	116.6	56
70.2	232	101.1	58	123.9	78	107.9	59	585.7	71	385.2	143	107.8	65
98.7	109	84.6	120	105.7	198	112.1	46	592.4	68	381.7	146	103.8	70
98.5	111	96.7	71	111.8	156	64.6	191	527.6	126	452.6	117	89.7	88
100.6	96	104.8	53	113.4	139	84.8	119	583.6	72	411.7	131	71.2	108
95.2	137	86	110	125.7	70	118.4	29	604.7	61	390.5	140	71.2	108
76.2	221	85.7	113	114.4	129	102.3	76	560.4	87	400.2	133	104.5	69
91.5	154	97.7	66	127.7	60	44	240	542	110	448.8	119	70.6	110
81.1	203	98.7	61	110.6	164	41	243	500.1	160	475.6	106	68.4	116
69.7	233	95.1	78	97.3	227	107.1	61	551.5	95	423.7	125	68.3	117
81.2	202	82.8	132	121.5	94	20.1	255	433.9	232	508.1	98	96	80
72.9	227	105.2	52	108.5	179	81	129	510.9	149	422.8	126	98.6	76
85.5	177	82.4	134	106.3	195	64	197	458	205	507.3	100	66.9	120
104.6	57	97.8	65	124.5	76	90.7	103	580.8	73	383.9	144	66.9	120
80.3	207	76.8	165	112.9	145	118.9	28	553.4	90	370.4	150	101.7	72
101	89	89.1	101	105.7	198	92.2	98	562.8	84	355.6	156	106.3	68
44	266	91.5	92	111.3	160	103.4	74	534.7	116	398.1	135	89.8	87

ranked. Institutes such as IIM-B, IIM-L, etc., which did not submit their objective data on time or refused to participate have not been ranked; Only those colleges which fulfilled the below criteria
 cimal place; *Formerly Acharya Institute of Management & Sciences ** Bharati Vidyapeeth Deemed University; Source: India Today Group-MDRA Best B-schools Survey 2015

RISING AFTER THE HIDING

With Amit Shah's position a little shaky after BJP's Bihar rout, tough action from the PM may be the only option left to quell the commotion

By Jyoti Malhotra

As the Prime Minister returned from his trip to the UK and the G-20 summit in Turkey in the early hours of November 17, and gets set to travel to Kuala Lumpur and Singapore from November 21-24 and, upon his return, gears up for the winter session of Parliament starting November 26, the debate on the crisis within the BJP seems to have been postponed—at least for the time being.

However, that does not mean it has been given up. "Prime Minister Modi is like Jesus Christ. He has the power to raise the dead—for example, the Opposition; it has been dead for some time, but he has brought it to life," former disinvestment minister Arun Shourie tells INDIA TODAY, giving voice to the churning inside the party, as indeed within the Sangh Parivar, in the wake of the BJP's Bihar debacle.

Party President Amit Shah is seen as being in the crosshairs of RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat, who is said to be looking at ways to further brand the

Sangh's ideological imprint on the remainder of Prime Minister Modi's tenure. But the defeat in Bihar is a definite setback to those plans. Bhagwat is said to be acutely aware of the storm that erupted inside the BJP when he made his comments on the need for a debate on caste-based reservations, even after nearly 70 years of independence, right in the middle of the elections. The party reacted with considerable nervousness, because it knew the Grand Alliance, especially the RJD and the JD(U), would make

IN THE EVENT AMIT SHAH IS NOT RETAINED, UNION URBAN DEVELOPMENT MINISTER AND FORMER BJP PRESIDENT NITIN GADKARI COULD BE A COMPROMISE CANDIDATE.



full use of the remarks. But as a Sangh insider points out, "The RSS is backing the Modi government not only because of the political changes the BJP wants to make but because of the opportunity provided to us to change the society from within."

In the middle of all those claims, counter-claims and nervous hand-wringing comes the key question: whether Amit Shah will stay on as party president when elections for the post are held, as scheduled, in January. On the face of it, a replacement may be seen as a blow to Modi himself, as the party president is seen to be a close aide and confidant. Modi will naturally be reluctant to see Shah go, says a BJP national general secretary.

Until Bihar came along, Shah had proved himself to be indispensable. He was the brains behind the Lok Sabha sweep in Uttar Pradesh last year, with the BJP winning 71 of 80 seats in the state, and masterminded the NDA's victories in Maharashtra, Jharkhand and Haryana. Also for the first time, the BJP became a part of the J&K government



PRIME MINISTER NARENDRA MODI AND BJP PRESIDENT AMIT SHAH AT THE PARTY'S PARLIAMENTARY BOARD MEETING IN NEW DELHI ON NOVEMBER 9

and has a deputy CM in the state now. "He is very hard-working and has, as the BJP chief, met the presidents and general secretaries of each of the party's 600 district units at least twice," says a party leader. "He has promised that each district unit will have a party office by the end of 2016." That is, up from 225 district unit offices as of today.

But post-Bihar results, other names have begun to be tossed around as possible replacements. Health Minister J.P. Nadda, who has been president as well as general secretary of Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, the Sangh Parivar's students' wing, and is seen as close to the RSS, is believed to be one such possibility. His youth is seen to be an advantage, even a signal, at a time when some senior party leaders are raising a banner of revolt.

The criticism unleashed by the quartet of party veteran L.K. Advani, former external affairs minister Yashwant Sinha, former HRD

minister Murli Manohar Joshi and former Himachal Pradesh chief minister Shanta Kumar only took the form of a press statement after they met Krishna Gopal, the RSS leader who is a key link with the BJP. According to a source, the foursome requested Gopal to take action, or at least initiate a debate, on the Bihar debacle.

Shourie, who has not renewed his party membership, continues to be highly respected inside the RSS. But the RSS is also keenly aware that Shourie and Finance Minister Arun Jaitley remain at cross purposes. Moreover, Shourie may have shot himself in the foot—at least politically—with his open criticism of Modi. But he remains unfazed—since the BJP's Bihar rout Shourie has also met Prashant Kishor, the Grand Alliance's chief strategist.

In the event Amit Shah is not retained, sources say a compromise candidate could be Transport Minister and former party president Nitin Gadkari, who remains an RSS favourite. Gadkari is also believed to have redeemed himself in the government by pushing for FDI in infrastructure,

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NARENDRA MODI GREETES SENIOR BJP LEADER L.K. ADVANI ON THE LATTER'S BIRTHDAY ON NOVEMBER 8

PIB

and using novel methods to do so. Gadkari's defence of the party following the revolt by senior leaders—he was quoted as telling Shah to initiate “strong action against those making irresponsible statements that damage the party's image”—has certainly come in handy.

But the rebellion within the party's Bihar unit remains untamed. In the wake of statements by Bihar MPs Shatrughan Sinha, Bhola Singh and R.K. Singh, criticising the manner in which tickets were distributed and “outsiders” refused to listen to the “local leadership”, Sasaram MP Chhedi Paswan has added his voice to the discourse. “I had gone to meet Amit Shah in Delhi towards the end of September,” Paswan says, “and waited for him from 7.30 that evening until midnight. Five minutes after midnight Bhupendra Yadav (BJP general secretary in charge of electioneering in Bihar) asked me to meet him (Shah) in Patna on October 1. But it was too late by then—all the tickets had been distributed, and many of them wrongly.”

Paswan says the party's plan was simply too simplistic: get the Prime Minister to address rallies, and the leaders thought they would win seats—“but it doesn't work that way”. Like Paswan, many leaders

in the state unit believe local leaders like him—Paswan is a four-time MLA and is in his third term as a Lok Sabha MP—should have been accorded more importance.

An RSS insider agrees that the party will not be able to make proper amends unless it takes such ground-level dissatisfaction into account. Admitting to a certain disconnect between the RSS, the BJP and the government, the RSS leader says Amit Shah's individualistic style of functioning and decision-making has ruffled several feathers. “This (individualistic style) worked well in Gujarat, where Modi and Shah knew the state as well as the RSS setup, but Delhi is a different ball game,” the Sangh leader says. He says that a

certain dissatisfaction may also stem from the fact that the Modi-Shah duo is apparently not intent on sharing the fruits of power with the party's rank and file. Several hundred posts in government-controlled organisations, parliamentary committees and autonomous bodies continue to lie vacant. “The government's dependence on the bureaucracy remains enormous,” the RSS leader says.

Rakesh Sinha, RSS ideologue and head of the India Policy Foundation, however, says: “We must restore the ideological and cultural USP of the BJP and remove from it problems such as (politics of) dynasty. Since the 1980s the Bihar unit has not been able to democratically expand its base to include the marginalised sections.”

For the moment though, the RSS has made it clear that it supports the Prime Minister and will back his government “no matter what”, even if certain tactical changes have to be made. And while the rebellion by the party's senior citizenry should be taken with a pinch of salt—for even they must know that they do not wield much clout any longer—still, with the Bihar defeat opening up the political landscape, Modi may take tough measures to stop the bloodletting. After all, it is he who has the most to lose.

with Uday Mahurkar

Follow the writer on Twitter @jomalhotra

**WHILE AMIT SHAH'S
INDIVIDUALISTIC STYLE
OF FUNCTIONING MAY
HAVE RUFFLED FEATHERS,
THE MODI-SHAH TEAM'S
APPARENT REFUSAL TO
SHARE THE FRUITS OF
POWER MAY HAVE ALSO
UPSET THE RANK AND FILE.**

STAY AHEAD OF THE CURVE

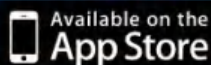
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FOR MANAGING TOMORROW

GRAND GST HITS

A huge defeat in the Bihar elections and the resignation of the GST panel chairman deal a

By M.G. Arun

The Goods and Services Tax (GST) has been discussed, debated and analysed threadbare for 15 years but remained a pie in the sky for one political hurdle or the other. Just when it seemed that the news couldn't get any worse for the ambitious tax that will replace all indirect taxes levied on goods and services by the central and state governments, comes this: the BJP fares miserably in the Bihar assembly elections and then the Chairman of the Empowered Committee of State Finance Ministers, K.M. Mani, resigns on November 12 over corruption charges levelled by bar owners in his home state of Kerala. Everything that can go wrong for the crucial tax reform measure seems to indeed be going wrong.

The GST tax bill, mooted first by the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government in 2000, will not only miss its April 2016 deadline set by the Narendra Modi-led government, it now could get easily pushed to October 2017, experts told INDIA TODAY. The reasons for this pessimism are several. For one, the government needs to find a replacement for Mani from among the non-NDA members, as has been the tradition. Thereafter, getting the bill through the Rajya Sabha requires two-thirds majority, of which the NDA is short of seven members, with the Congress,

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Illustration by SAURABH SINGH

A HURDLE, AGAIN

double blow to the Narendra Modi government's plan to roll out the tax in April 2016

the Left parties and the AIADMK opposing the bill.

The past support of the Janata Dal (United), which has 12 upper house members, can also not be taken for granted after the party's landslide victory in Bihar. Equally critical are the technology back-end necessary to implement the tax reform and the preparedness of all industrial and services sectors in conforming to these taxes. States such as Maharashtra and Gujarat, which produce a number of goods, are already peeved by the fact that they will lose the taxes they levied on goods produced by them. Gujarat has opposed the bill, saying it is not happy with the proposed formula of destination-based consumption tax model, where a primarily "consuming" state such as West Bengal can benefit from sharing the GST revenues, while the "producing" state loses out on the tax. The Centre has reportedly agreed to compensate Gujarat with the one per cent additional tax revenue part from the uniform GST share, for two years. However, this has not cut any ice with the state so far.

A BOOST TO ECONOMY

The implementation of the GST has been showcased as the single biggest reform that can benefit the country's economy. "Through the GST, we will have double-digit growth in India and everything else will come in line," believes Adi Godrej, chairman of Godrej Industries. The basic idea is to create a single, cooperative, and undivided Indian market to make the economy stronger. "Once the GST is implemented, every transaction will be dragged into the tax system," says Sachin Menon, head of indirect tax at consulting firm KPMG. At present, it is easy for many to avoid taxes as they fall under different jurisdictions of the Centre and the state. GST is also touted as a powerful tool to tackle the black money menace.

Many are rooting for the GST rate to be pegged at 20 per cent, although the Congress has been demanding 18 per cent. In an earlier discussion involving the Centre and the states, GST was pegged at 25 to 26 per cent. But experts say this can be self-defeating. "The government is well-cautioned to

not giving in to the demand of a high GST rate of say, 26 per cent," says Ajit Ranade, chief economist with the Aditya Birla Group. That will surely kill the purpose of the GST. "The GST law should refrain from putting in a specific number, and just say that the rate will be competitive, and determined on the basis of international best practice and considerations of revenue neutrality," he adds. Apart from the rates, the Congress wants other amendments to the bill, including compensation for nagarpalikas and panchayats and setting up of an independent dispute settlement system.

What is the cost of this delay? Any tax amendment of this scale may not end up resulting in significant tax collection from day one. However, many expect tax collections to rise by a whopping 30 to 40 per cent, akin to the increase when states moved from sales tax to VAT in 2003. India's indirect tax collection in April-August 2015 stood at Rs 54,396 crore, a 37 per cent growth over the previous year after excise duty collections rose

Problems Galore for the Government

GST can't be implemented by April 2016 because:

- ➔ Need a new chairman for the Empowered Committee of State Finance Ministers
- ➔ Can't get through Rajya Sabha where NDA is short of seven members for two-thirds majority
- ➔ More trouble for NDA if JD(U), which has 12 RS members, decides to oppose the bill
- ➔ A minimum of 15 states have to give their assent, while NDA-ruled states are only 13
- ➔ The draft of the bill needs to be put up for public discussion, a GST council needs to be set up, and the GST rate fixed
- ➔ Technology-readiness for implementing GST is crucial, and companies may falter
- ➔ Small-scale businesses may resist the bill as they need to be more accountable

Many Advantages of GST

The tax reform measure can improve the country's financial health

- ➔ The single-biggest reform that can benefit the country's economy
- ➔ Will create a single, cooperative and undivided Indian market
- ➔ Indirect tax collections may rise by a whopping 30 to 40 per cent
- ➔ Tax evasion becomes difficult as every transaction will be brought into the tax system
- ➔ Touted as a powerful tool to tackle the black money menace
- ➔ Consumers to benefit as prices to drop by 1.5 to 2 per cent

on additional revenue measures. This will get a further boost once GST is implemented. For the government, the service tax is a tool for raising additional income and if it is not implemented, excise rates could go up and states could increase sales tax to compensate for the lost revenue.

IMPACT ON CONSUMERS

The GST was supposed to bring down the average price of consumption by 1.5 to 2 per cent. As much as 70 per cent of our consumption is on food and clothes, among other things, and just 30 per cent on services. With the GST implementation, manufacturing tax, which is at 28 per cent, will dip to 20 per cent, while services tax, which is at 14 per cent, will rise to 20 per cent. "There will be an effective benefit of 3 to 5 per cent to the Indian consumer, which is being lost at the moment," says Amit Kumar Sarkar, partner and leader-indirect tax, at advisory firm Grant Thornton India. Inflation pressure could have dropped, middle-class spending could have risen, and the GDP would have received an impetus of 1.5 to 2 per cent, enabling the economy to get kick-started again. Many say the government should also agree to expand the net of GST to include a maximum number of products and services. Leaving out petroleum products, electricity and real estate, as mentioned in some reports, can hugely undermine the whole purpose of GST.

The government has claimed that

the technology architecture is already in place, with Infosys being awarded a Rs 1,380 crore contract for building and maintaining the GST technology network for a period of five years. The government had also created a firm called GST Network that will act as a technology backbone to GST introduction and connect the databases of states and the Centre.



**THE AMBITIOUS GST
WILL REPLACE ALL
INDIRECT TAXES LEVIED
ON GOODS AND SERVICES
BY THE CENTRAL AND
STATE GOVERNMENTS.**

What now remains is the critical issue of garnering Opposition support to get the bill passed in Parliament, an area where the NDA has failed miserably in the past, especially while introducing the land bill. "If it is in the national interest, why play political football with it? The government should try to delink the implementation of GST from any political brownie point scoring," says Ranade, adding that both the BJP and the Congress can come to a consensus, as they seem to have already agreed to a 1 per cent compensation in lieu of Central Sales Tax, with a sunset clause.

The government is planning to reach out to leaders of all major Opposition parties by holding a meeting to discuss important legislations and functioning of the Parliament. That is a welcome step, and should help both sides reach common ground to resolve issues and end the deadlock around this crucial bill. While Finance Minister Arun Jaitley has said that he is prepared to speak to anyone, including Congress Vice President Rahul Gandhi, to end the impasse over the bill, he also claimed in an interview on November 16 that the government has the numbers to pass the bill. "The day it is discussed and put to vote in Rajya Sabha I have not the least doubt that it will be approved," Jaitley claimed. "We have numbers on our side." Brave words that will soon be put to the test.

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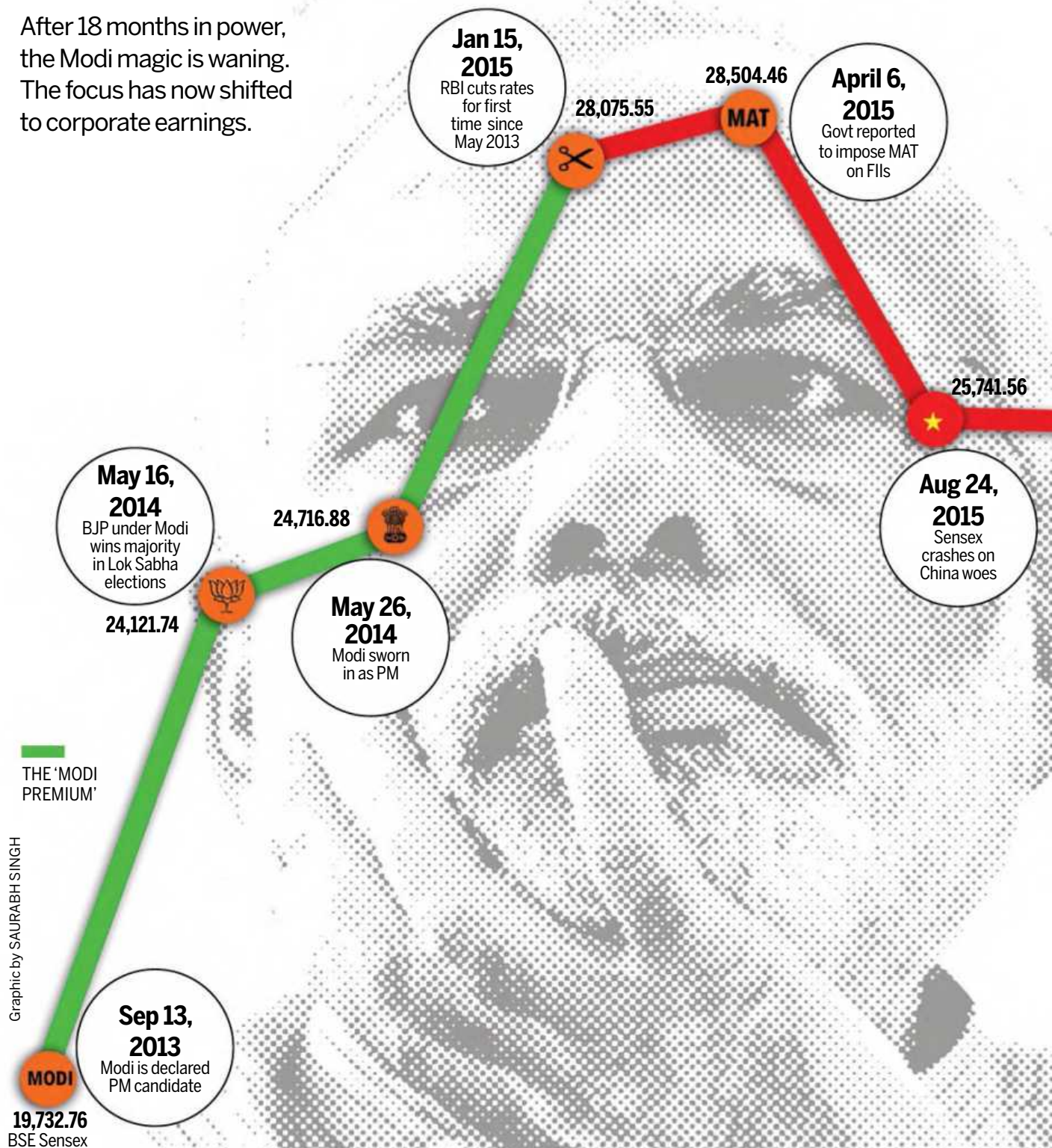


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SLIDING 'MODI PREMIUM'

After 18 months in power, the Modi magic is waning. The focus has now shifted to corporate earnings.



By Vivek Law

Stock markets are futuristic. They first build expectations about what is to come and then keep discounting the future based on what they see in the present. It is all in the price, is an old stock market adage. Back in September 2013, when the BJP declared Narendra Modi as its prime ministerial candidate for the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, the stock markets felt their knight in shining armour had arrived and would drive away all problems with a magic wand. And so began

the upward climb of the markets, taking the Bombay Stock Exchange Sensex, the bellwether index, to stratospheric levels of 30,000 by early 2015. In 2014 alone, the Sensex was up 30 per cent despite earnings growth remaining sluggish and clocking 7 per cent in fiscal 2014-15.

There were no interest rate cuts in 2014 with RBI Governor Raghuram Rajan deciding to hold rates until inflation came under control. There were enough global jitters. But none of that mattered. After three decades, India had got a decisive leader with an absolute majority, who would change the economic destiny of the country and pull it out of the slump that it had found itself in in the last years of UPA 2. It was the 'Modi Premium' at play now. The stock markets loved him. They still do.

"In 2014, the markets believed PM Modi will bring the Gujarat model to the Centre. But global factors have meant a large basket of Indian companies have not been able to perform as well as expected," says Nilesh Shah, MD, Kotak Mutual Fund. "The focus is now on corporate earnings."

What has changed is the expectations. PM Modi has not found the going easy. Despite a majority in the Lok Sabha, the Opposition has succeeded in stalling Parliament quite in the same way the BJP did when it was in opposition. Key reforms, the goods and service tax, labour laws and the land acquisition legislation have all been stalled. The government plans to bring in a much-needed bankruptcy legislation to cleanse the banking system in the forthcoming Parliament session, but the stock markets do not expect it to go through, with the Opposition likely to stall this session too. In other words, after 18 months in power, the Modi-led government has made no headway in the key 'big bang' reforms the market was anticipating, given the huge mandate of the BJP.

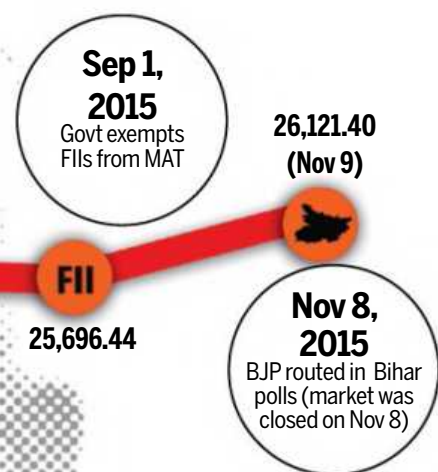
Moreover, while the government has taken several reform-oriented executive decisions, including the recent changes to FDI rules, these are at best incremental in nature. It has not been able to fix the banking system, especially PSU banks that are grappling with rising non-performing

assets. In fact, stressed assets in the system are now above 10 per cent. What this has meant is the investment cycle remains stalled. And while the government has kick-started investments, these are yet to be of a scale that could trigger a turnaround in the investment cycle. What made matters worse was the decision of the government to impose a Minimum Alternative Tax or MAT on foreign institutional investors (FIIs) earlier this year. This led to huge disappointment among them. After initially defending its move, the government had to beat a hasty retreat. It set up a panel and accepted its suggestion that there was no need to levy MAT. But the damage was done.

In 2015, the RBI unleashed a series of rate cuts: 125 basis points and counting. Earnings growth has been sluggish but is expected to clock in better at 10 per cent this fiscal, and global jitters continue especially from a slowing growth engine, China. The Sensex is down 6 per cent so far this year and almost 15 per cent from its high earlier this year. The stock market is now more realistic. Expectations are now muted and it is reflecting the fundamentals of the corporate sector and its earnings. The price to earnings multiples are back at 16 times, India's long-term average, down from the heady 20 times a year ago.

"While 2014 was driven by a macro India story, this year the markets are focusing on earnings," says Anup Bagchi, MD and CEO, ICICI Securities. "While at the macro level we continue to be in a better place, global headwinds coupled with volatility in China and a weak corporate balance sheet will result in a delay in the micros catching up with expectations. In the short term, the enthusiasm will be tapered, but India continues to be a long-term growth story," he adds.

The picture could have been far worse if not for the flood of money—Rs 80,000 crore—that domestic retail investors have poured into mutual funds so far this year. This has been largely due to individuals finally taking the leap of faith to start investing in financial assets instead of the traditional gold and real estate, both asset classes that have been in a bearish grip.



IN 2014 ALONE,
THE SENSEX WAS
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DESPITE EARNINGS
GROWTH
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SLUGGISH
AND CLOCKING
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NARENDRA MODI: BANKING ON FDI

The efforts of the mutual fund industry to spread financial literacy has helped.

“When commodity prices fall the way they have, there is bound to be an impact on earnings. The allocation of money invested in infrastructure and real estate assets between 2002 and 2012 has been very high. A majority of these assets are stressed and unless this clears up, the earnings recovery will be slow. We expect earnings to bounce back over the course of the next six-months-to-two-year period,” says S. Naren, CIO, ICICI Prudential Mutual Fund.

For the past few months, if the markets have moved only sideways, it is because the stock markets do not expect earnings growth to turn around for another two quarters at least. Some experts say it could take another six quarters. Even so, the earnings growth for financial year March 31, 2017 is being penciled in at 15-20 per cent and hence the markets are expected to see their upward climb only by the middle of 2016. Of course, this will have to be accompanied by PM Modi remaining firmly in the saddle and continuing to

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MUTUAL FUND



“IN 2014, THE MARKETS BELIEVED MODI WILL BRING THE GUJARAT MODEL TO THE CENTRE.”

NILESH SHAH
MD, KOTAK
MUTUAL FUND



expedite reforms, even if incremental. He will have to fix the banking system with far greater urgency than has been displayed so far. Disinvestment, which has remained stalled, will have to be pushed through to raise funds and cut the deficit while at the same time infusing supply of stock. While there have been a few IPOs such as Indigo, the supply in the Indian stock market remains restricted and there is too much money chasing a few stocks.

Global markets could throw some nasty surprises too. The US Federal Reserve is expected to finally raise interest rates next month and this could lead to volatility as FIIs pull out some of their money from across the globe and take it back home. This means an even greater onus on the Modi government to keep India as the cleanest shirt in the laundry. The economy is growing at over 7 per cent and India remains an “overweight” for most global investors. Modi will have to ensure it stays that way. The markets may have turned realistic but they are still banking on him to deliver.

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BOUNCING BACK WITH BIHAR

Buoyed by its poll performance, the Congress plans to capitalise on the momentum by ringing in organisational changes and stitching Bihar-like alliances elsewhere

PTI



By Kaushik Deka

When the Bihar assembly election results were declared on November 8, Congress Vice President Rahul Gandhi was the first to address the media in Delhi, far away from the centre of action, Patna. The usually media-shy Rahul did not allow the victorious duo of Nitish Kumar and Lalu Yadav walk away with all the glory of busting the myth of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's invincibility. His lieutenants had already declared that the credit for making the impossible happen—bringing *bête noire* Lalu and Nitish together and demolishing the duo of Modi and BJP President Amit Shah—belonged to the Congress vice president “who was the chief architect of the Grand Alliance”.

Reeling under a series of reverses beginning with the utter decimation at the hands of Modi in the General

Election, the Congress's remarkable showing in Bihar—where its tally has gone up from four seats in 2010 to 27—has given wind to the grand old party's sails. The immediate consequence of this victory is that the much-awaited All India Congress Committee (AICC) reshuffle will take place by January next year with Rahul taking charge as party president. Contrary to rumours, several Congress veterans will retain their place, but it will be a team personally chosen by Rahul.

Several senior Congressmen aver that the successful Bihar strategy is

RAHUL GANDHI SPEAKS AFTER THE BIHAR POLL RESULTS, IN DELHI ON NOVEMBER 8

proof that Rahul has evolved from being an “idealistic and reclusive politician” to one who understands the art of mixing idealism with pragmatism. “He has realised that the experience of senior leaders could be a huge electoral asset for the party. Look at how he has joined hands with Lalu,” says a Congress general secretary.

In fact, a glaring example has been his reconciliation with former Punjab chief minister Captain Amarinder Singh, who had openly criticised Rahul's leadership abilities. Alarmed at the exit of Assam heavyweight Himanta Biswa Sarma earlier this year—the chief strategist behind Congress's massive win in the state in 2011 defected to the BJP when Rahul repeatedly ignored his grievances against Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi—the Congress vice president took proactive steps in resolving the

THE AICC RESHUFFLE
WILL TAKE PLACE BY
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WITH RAHUL TAKING
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PRESIDENT.

feud between Amarinder and Punjab Congress chief Partap Singh Bajwa. The party is likely to announce an organisational restructuring of the Punjab unit soon but that Rahul has already brokered peace is evident from Amarinder's fulsome praise on November 16, when he not only credited Rahul for the success in Bihar but also said time was ripe for the Congress vice president to take over charge from Sonia Gandhi.

Apart from Punjab, several other states, including Uttar Pradesh which goes to the polls in 2017, may see massive infusion of young blood in the state committees. Rahul has met 300-odd Congressmen across the country in the past couple of months to hand-pick "young, energetic and potential leaders" who could be given responsibilities at the AICC and Pradesh Congress Committees. The vice president also intends to empower grassroots-level party units with a bigger say in the decision-making process. "New accountability measures will be introduced and decision-making made more transparent and democratic," says K. Raju, head of Congress SC Cell, who has emerged as Rahul's chief political adviser.

With five states—Assam, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Puducherry—going to the polls in the first half of next year, the Congress is now brainstorming to replicate the strategy of forming alliances of like-minded parties for a united anti-Modi front. "We are certainly looking at Bihar-like alliances in other states. The game plan is simple: we need to stitch up an anti-Modi axis for social justice and to protect the secular fabric of the country. The voters of Bihar have proved that we are on the right track," says Randeep Singh Surjewala, communication in-charge of the party.

Raju, however, adds a caveat, "No alliance will be formed for short-term gains with parties which don't conform to the ideology of Congress." The Andhra Pradesh cadre IAS officer-turned-politician insists that the ideological fulcrum of Congress—social justice and secularism—is still relevant in today's India as the Grand

Alliance won 29 out of the 38 seats reserved for SCs in Bihar. The party's push to woo Dalit voters is evident as Rahul attended five Dalit-related events within a week in October.

For the Uttar Pradesh polls and 2019 Lok Sabha polls, the party sees Mayawati's Bahujan Samaj Party, a party with Dalit politics at its core, as a potential ally. Surjewala drops enough hints: "After the Bihar polls, it's clear that the fight will be against the SP (in

“ We are looking at Bihar-like alliances in other states. The game plan is simple: stitch up an anti-Modi axis.”

RANDEEP SINGH SURJEWALA
Congress
communication
in-charge



“ The dynamics of Indian politics have dramatically changed in the last 18 months.”



JYOTIRADITYA SCINDIA
Congress chief whip
in the Lok Sabha

Uttar Pradesh) and the Congress will play a pivotal role in replicating Bihar in the neighbouring state.”

Another subtle ideological shift has been the intra-party redefinition of secularism. During Rahul's conversations with nearly 400 Congress workers last year, one of the prominent issues raised was the perception of the party being "pro-minority" and "anti-Hindu". Although the party brass is categorical that the Congress will not move away from its inclusive philosophy and distance itself from marginalised minorities, the

realisation has set in that it must act to dispel the "anti-Hindu" perception.

The effort is visible: from trekking 16 km to offer prayers at the Kedarnath temple during its re-opening in April to tweeting photographs of having *chaat* during Ramlila celebrations, Rahul has not been averse to asserting his religious identity lately. On the occasion of Bhai Dooj, November 13, the Congress Twitter handle posted a photograph of Rahul and sister Priyanka. "Our goal is not to be seen as more Hindu or less Muslim. Rahul Gandhi stands for the underprivileged and marginalised sections of the society, irrespective of their religion," says Raju.

Despite the Congress's enthusiasm, however, its potential targets for alliances don't seem very enthusiastic about joining hands with the party. In Assam, CM Gogoi floated the idea of a Maha Bujabuji (grand understanding) of all parties—All India United Democratic Front, Asom Gana Parishad, Bodoland People's Front—to form a coalition against the BJP, but he still hasn't found any takers. A Congress general secretary says the party leadership is split over whether to go with the Trinamool Congress (TMC) or the Left for the West Bengal assembly polls next year, but TMC leader Derek O'Brien, smug in the knowledge that even amid the 'Modi wave' during the 2014 Lok Sabha polls, his party led in 216 out of the 294 assembly segments, says, "TMC is fighting the 2016 polls on the great work done by Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee in the last four years. We will be on our own and have three opponents in Bengal—the Left, the BJP and the Congress.”

Whether Rahul can replicate his Bihar success in other states or not, the growing realisation is that 18 months after its biggest electoral debacle, the Congress has to capitalise on its newfound momentum. "The dynamics of Indian politics have dramatically changed in the last 18 months. The reshuffle in the party is much awaited," says Jyotiraditya Scindia, Congress chief whip in the Lok Sabha. The clock continues to tick.

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SHHH. CAN'T HEAR YOU!

SO YOU CAN'T BREATHE, THANKS TO AIR POLLUTION. BUT CAN YOU HEAR? MOST INDIANS ARE NOT JUST DEAF TO

By Damayanti Datta

On November 11, exactly at 9 p.m., a freewheeling firecracker fever broke out in the East Delhi neighbourhood of Mayur Vihar: Roman candles whistled up, changing the sky from a flaming red to green, yellow to blue; 'akash ganga' rockets exploded in all directions; smoke bombs boomed and crackled; garlands of 'bidi' bombs went off with a deafening rattle, each string lasting a full 10 minutes. Electric *patakas* sounded like rifle shots in the distance, while heavy-duty 'atom bomb' crackers made windows shake and car alarms go off.

Conversations stopped in

mid-sentence for the members of the Joshi family, residents of a multi-storeyed building in the area. They stopped. Started. And stopped again. Someone turned the TV volume to maximum, to drown out the noise. To top it all, the family dog started barking wildly. The onslaught went on for two long hours, Mayur Vihar being one of the noisiest fireworks zones in the country every Diwali, according to the Central Pollution Control Board. "I think, we have all gone slightly deaf after that day," says Arun Joshi, executive director of a construction company.

GOING, GOING, GONE

It's not just Diwali. The noise around you is making you deaf. Hearing loss was once an old-age condition. Not

anymore. Indians are increasingly victims of a different kind of deafness, Noise-induced Hearing Loss, or NIHL, that develops gradually after months or years of exposure to loud noise. "When noise is too loud, it triggers the formation of molecules inside the ear," says Dr Ramesh Deka, ENT specialist and former director of All India Institute of Medical Sciences, Delhi. "That starts killing hair cells in the inner ear. The more one is exposed to it, more hair cells die and so does hearing." NIHL can be temporary or permanent, can affect one ear or both, can happen immediately or manifest in the future.

Measured in decibels (dB), between a pin dropping at 10 dB and heavy traffic at 90, the risk of hearing loss rises



1 in 4 patients in Delhi shows onset of age-related hearing loss 15 years in advance

4 in 10 traffic policemen in Mumbai are hard of hearing

1 in 15 road users surveyed in Chennai suffers from noise-related hearing loss

1 in 8 young adults in Bengaluru has signs of hearing loss due to excessive use of earphones

1 in 13 people surveyed randomly is affected by hearing loss in Kolkata

starting 15 years in advance among one out of four patients, reports the Centre for Occupational and Environmental Health at Maulana Azad Medical College. The Institute of Otorhinolaryngology, Government General Hospital, Chennai, records signs of NIHL among 30 per cent road users surveyed. In Mumbai, four in 10 traffic police constables suffer from serious hearing loss, reports the Indian Medical Association. In Bangalore, one in eight students, age 18-25 years, seem to be hard of hearing due to excessive use of personal music players, say ENT researchers at the M. S. Ramaiah Medical College. A study by Jadavpur University in Kolkata finds nearly 34 per cent of 500 people surveyed randomly, to be affected by hearing loss. The city is also witnessing a 20-fold rise of audiometry testing centres in the last four decades.

SILENCE OF NATURE

The first sign of something amiss came from the humble house sparrow: those chirpy little birds that flitted around every Indian home, fearlessly, for as long as memory. No one noticed when they started to disappear. The country was busy embracing a new urban modernity since the '90s. A building boom was sweeping across metropolitan India. There were three times more cars on the streets in 2001-2011 than in the preceding decade. Add to it 91 million people—the size of Vietnam—who flocked to urban hubs during this time and heightened the chronic noise experience of city people—377 million now—going about their lives. A sonic boom of electric horns, screeching wheels, keening whine of machinery, humming air-conditioners, blaring loudspeakers became the new normal.

And sparrows started to disappear. A flurry of research indicated a range of factors: overlit cityscape, noxious traffic fumes, banned pesticides, loss of green space and insects, modern plastic-glass-and-chrome buildings, electro smog from mobile towers. New research from University of Sheffield found that industrial and traffic noise in urban environments to be the main culprit behind disappearing

around 85 dB. That's the everyday limit people can bear without substantial damage to their ears, says the World Health Organization (WHO). Above that, even 15 minutes of unprotected exposure—say, a whistling rocket at 82 dB to an ambulance siren at 115 dB—can cause permanent hearing loss. Ear pain begins from the 120-125 dB range: be it an 'atom bomb' crackler at 130 dB or a shotgun at 160. An increase of 10 makes sound 10 times more intense and twice as loud.

THE NUMBERS GAME

India has not bothered to keep up with the numbers. According to the WHO estimates, nearly 10 per cent of the world has mild to severe hearing impairment, two-thirds of which are

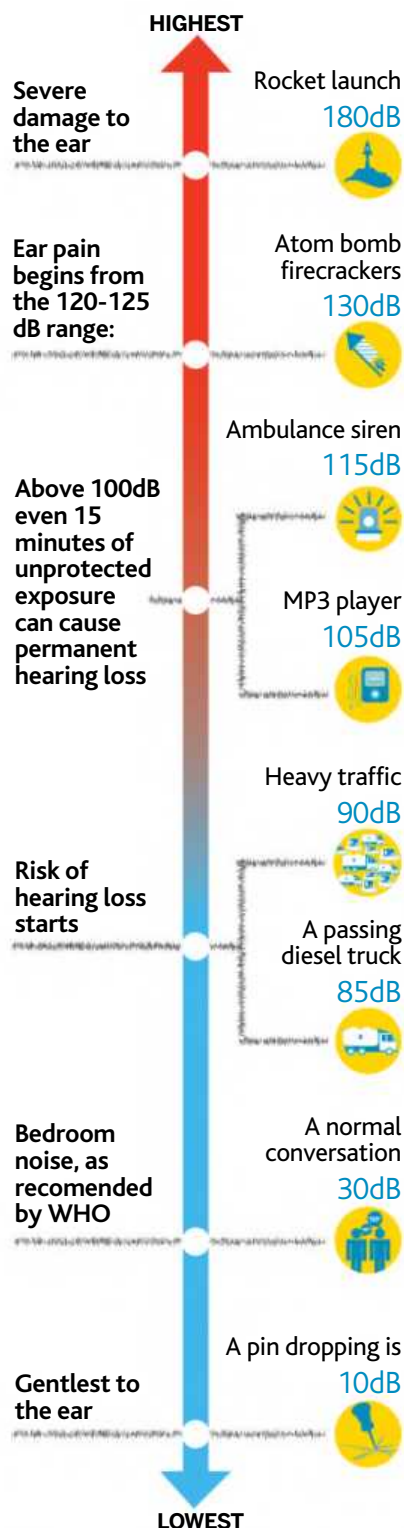
in China and India. But deafness can range from mild to profound and as a result of injury, disease, genetic defects or noise. Noise accounts for over one-fourth of the world affected by hearing loss. In the US, it's 15 per cent, between age of 20 and 69. In China, it's assumed to be 16.8 per cent. But India has not bothered to count them up, instead, the government still uses old data: 10.7 per cent estimated by Indian Council of Medical Research in 1983; 8 per cent by the UNICEF in 1997; 9-10 per cent by National Sample Survey in 2001; 6.3 per cent by the WHO in 2006. But experts believe the numbers are much higher, going by piecemeal studies and rising footfalls of patients.

Consider this: in Delhi, onset of age-related hearing loss is

THE URBAN CACOPHONY AROUND THEM, THEY ARE ALSO HEARING LESS.

HORN NOT OK PLEASE

The everyday noise onslaught and how they harm the ear



sparrows across the world: loud cities mask communication, with birds missing out on mating cues, on food calls of baby birds as well as the stealthy sound of predators. To avid nature-watcher Surya Prakash, zoologist at the School of Life Sciences, JNU, “It’s not just the house sparrow, a number of amphibians—especially frogs and toads—that use vocalisation to attract mates are declining rapidly. Signs of stress have been observed in bees and butterflies. Bats are failing to pick up the rustle of insects due to excessive noise.”

GET AN EARFUL

How would you know if you are one of the victims of loud noise? “Typically, there is loss of clarity in hearing,” says Deka. From not being able to understand other people clearly when they talk, especially on the phone or in noisy rooms to turning up the radio or television volume. Noise pollution can have other major health effects, he explains: from lack of concentration, irritation, fatigue, headache, sleep disturbance. The release of stress hormones can also lead to high blood pressure and heart problems. The effect of excessive noise is often so devastating that it can cause permanent memory loss or psychiatric disorder.

In a new development, a steady stream of young adults are complaining of ringing, buzzing or hissing noise in their ears—the two most common symptoms of hearing loss. And inevitably they admit to using cell phones continuously for more than 30 minutes or listening to loud music continuously on iPods or MP3 players. A typical example is a 15-year-old girl from Kolkata, found to have a 30 dB hearing loss on an audiogram, when screened at school. “She would be hooked on to her mobile phone all the time,” says her mother, “talking to friends for hours or listening to music.” Did she listen to soft music? “Not really,” says the girl, who is part of a rock band at school. “I realised something was wrong, because every time I would use those ear pods there would be a kind of ringing in my ears.” That ringing is

also known as tinnitus, another sure-fire symptom of NIHL.

CULTURE OF HONKING

Is there a way out of the noise quagmire? The National Green Tribunal (NGT) is taking a serious look at street noise and India’s culture of honking horns. At least 70 per cent of damaging noise emanates from horn-honking, the signature act of Indian drivers, say scientists at the Centre for Science and Environment, Delhi. Since 2013, the NGT has given a series of orders in a bid to curb excessive honking: from banning high-decibel, multi-toned and shrill air horns to asking citizens to video-tape vehicles using sirens and horns recklessly and lodge complaints.

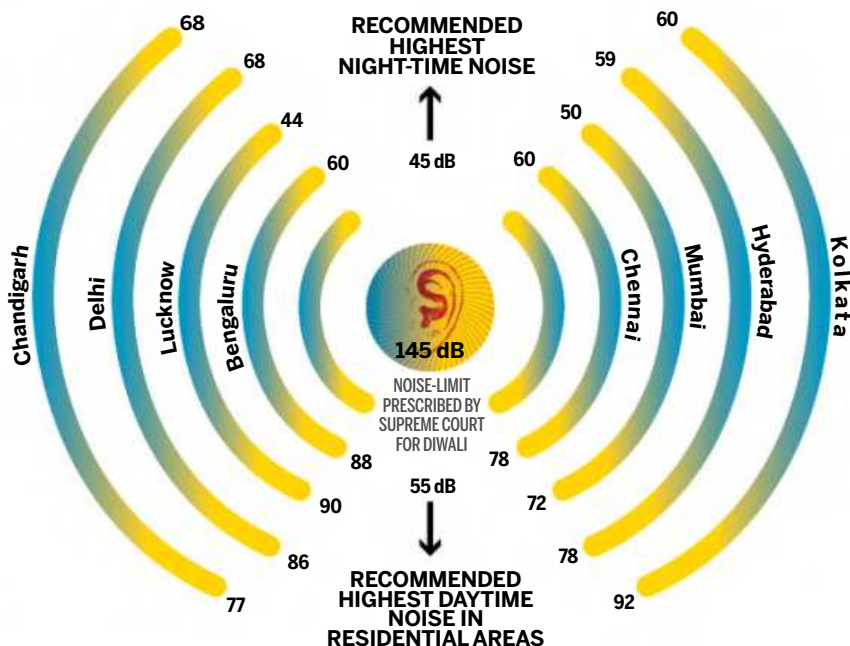
At the brunt of government ire are the kings of the Indian highway: truckers. Maharashtra government has banned their signature graffiti, “Horn OK Please”, from all trucks, lest they encourage others to honk as they please. The NGT has recommended alternative truck routes for metros. The Central Pollution Control Board is planning penal provisions for noisy trucks too. Trucks are the prime culprits behind the painful din, reports the Central Road Research Institute. Delhi’s noise level is 16 times higher than the prescribed limits of 45-55 dB, thanks to trucks.

But chances are, all this will fall on deaf ears, literally. Research shows that at least 60 per cent truck drivers in India are hard of hearing—victims of their own testosterone-filled ‘Ahooga horns’—with 76 per cent having high blood pressure, racing pulse and chronic indigestion. Ask environmental scientist Amar M. Dhare of Pune, who did his research on truck drivers plying on National Highway No. 9, from Pune to Hyderabad. The constant discomfort of noise and heat from engines, horns and road traffic, not to mention the relentless fatigue of lives lived on the road—make them the biggest victims of noise pollution, he explains. “We need community health centres along highways and regulation about better working conditions. All efforts to reduce noise pollution will be meaningless without this.”



DIWALI DAMAGE

With a lethal 145 decibels as the cutoff for noise firecrackers, every Diwali leaves us slightly deaf. And this year, 63 of the 70 locations monitored across seven major cities had noise levels over the safe limit. Check out:



Source: Central Pollution Control Board; all measured in dB

THE EFFECT OF EXCESSIVE NOISE IS OFTEN SO DEVASTATING THAT IT CAN CAUSE **PERMANENT MEMORY LOSS OR PSYCHIATRIC DISORDER.**

MAPPING THE DIN

For Sumaira Abdulali of Mumbai, the only solution to the crisis is noise mapping. When she started visiting noisy spots in Mumbai a decade ago, with a noise metre in hand, she was a strange sight. But along with members of her organisation, Awaaz Foundation, the noise crusader has been spreading the word about the underestimated health hazards of excessive noise—interference with work, leisure, sleep, performance, behaviour, not to mention cardiovascular and psychophysiological effects—relentlessly. It was her PIL in 2007 that led the Bombay High Court to order strict implementation of the Noise Pollution (Regulation and Control) Rules, 2000, “to create silence zones around educational places, courts, hospitals and religious places” in 2009.

In all these years, Awaaz Foundation has continued to

collect noise pollution data from across Mumbai: in the wake of Ganpati Visarjan processions, checking decibels at construction sites, busy traffic junctions or in neighbourhoods celebrating Diwali fireworks. Concerned over rising decibel levels in the city, she has written to the municipality, requesting for a comprehensive noise mapping system that would provide a sharper insight into the source and nature of noise levels within the city: “Noise mappings as a tool has worked successfully across the world,” she says. Many countries have detailed noise maps, she says, with interactive websites that allow citizens as well as urban planners to control unwanted noise in their lives and in the community.

SAY NO TO NOISE

Right before Diwali, a petition was filed in the Supreme Court, on behalf of three infants, aged between 6 and

14 months, for a complete ban on the use of firecrackers. With the government protesting against such a plea for going “against Hindu belief and mythology” and politicians throwing verbal brickbats at each other on television—it became top-line news. “No, it is not possible,” said the Chief Justice of India, H.L. Dattu, on October 20. “If a citizen wants to burst crackers outside his home, it is his right. We cannot ask him to go to a particular maidan or a secluded place.”

We live in an ever noisy world. And changes in the future promise to add more to the din. So take care of your ears. Protect them from loud noise. Use earplugs, take regular breaks, turn down the volume. And if in doubt, get your hearing checked, especially, if you can’t talk without shouting, even to people just two metres away from you.

Follow the writer on Twitter @dattadamayanti

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CORBIS

THE PLIGHT OF THE TIBETAN MASTIFFS REFLECTS HOW NEW FADS ARE DISCARDED AS QUICKLY AS THEY BECOME FRENZIED OBSESSIONS

IN THE DOGHOUSE

Purebred Tibetan Mastiffs were until this year a prized possession. But the proud warrior dogs of Tibet are now being discarded on streets, even slaughtered for meat.

By Ananth Krishnan in Beijing

There are two episodes in Chinese history that reflect the country's fascination with the Tibetan Mastiff, a ferocious breed known simply in some parts of China as "the dog that must be tied". When the Mongolian conqueror Genghis Khan prepared to cross the Tibetan plateau into Europe, he instructed his commanders to summon up an army of 30,000 of these dogs, goes one story. So famed were these guard dogs of Tibet that when traveller Marco Polo reached the plateau, he marvelled at "dogs that barked like lions".

The second episode, of more recent vintage, also involved a warring commander, but one who had a very different view of these noble beasts. When Mao Zedong instructed the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to cross the frozen Yalu river and join the Korean War, he sanctioned the massacre of tens of thousands of Tibetan Mastiffs to provide for readymade and cheap winter coats for the then impoverished PLA. In one swift stroke, a dog revered in parts of China for centuries was condemned to a ghastly fate by Mao.

As popular as Mao still is as the country's founding father, his massacre of mastiffs still angers Guo Ming.

"It was a very bad thing that Mao did," says the 57-year-old, for whom Tibetan Mastiffs are no ordinary dogs. "Saying a mastiff is a dog is like saying a tiger is a cat," he says. For two decades, the former official has been one of China's leading breeders of these massive dogs. His farm was one of dozens that cropped up in Beijing's suburbs when China's growing middle class began dipping its feet into a practice that was for many decades seen as taboo: having a pet. This was unthinkable—and unaffordable—in the 1960s and 1970s, reviled in Mao's China as a bourgeois hobby.

From the 1990s, as China's reforms took off, pets began to appear

in prosperous homes. In cities, governments didn't allow large dogs—in every city today, keeping a dog requires a permit and payment of an annual fee that depends on the size of the dog—so Pugs, Pekingese and Shih Tzus were often the dogs of choice. The wealthy, however, craved something different, so they turned to the long-forgotten Tibetan Mastiff.

The Craze

Businessman Wang Xiaopeng got his first mastiff in 2003 as a gift from a friend who had been travelling in Tibet. "It was unlike any dog I'd seen," he says. Wang recites a popular Chinese and Tibetan saying: Nine dogs is one mastiff. For wealthy Chinese such as Wang, owning a mastiff soon became a reflection of social status. As prices rose, farms proliferated.

"In 2003, there were less than 100 dog farms in all of Beijing. Today, in just Beijing city, Shunyi district, Zaoquanying town, there are 500 farms," says Guo. "Having a mastiff became like having a golden egg," says Wang. "One breeder I knew who had a purebred male was charging 100,000 yuan (Rs 10 lakh) to let other dog owners have access to his mastiff for breeding. He did this 50 to 60 times a year. He became a millionaire in quick time." Wang himself opened a kennel, which grew to housing 70 large mastiffs.

Among the new legion of owners was one official in the PLA's Second Artillery Corps—its secretive division that commands missiles and nuclear weapons—who will only be identified as Zhang. He received his first dog as a gift, he says rather sheepishly. Presenting influential officials with mastiffs became a common way to curry favour—seen as much less risky than gifting them an apartment or cash. The craze for these dogs reached its peak last year. In a dog fair in Zhejiang, the wealthy coastal province in China's south, one property tycoon paid 14 million yuan (Rs 14 crore) for two purebred mastiff twins.

"I thought the boom would last 20 years," says mastiff breeder Guo, "It lasted barely five." Guo is still puzzled by the turn of events.



AP

High Maintenance

Raising purebred Tibetan Mastiffs is an expensive business

A purebred mastiff can grow up to

80 kg and **75** cm

Every day, it needs:

Two to four eggs

Two litres of milk

Meat

Dog food

Cost per dog per year

10,000 yuan
(Rs 1 lakh)

Breeding 10 dogs,
with staff and rent, per year costs

500,000 yuan
(Rs 50 lakh)

Towards the end of 2014, the government launched an anti-corruption campaign targeting wayward officials. Owning a mastiff became the equivalent of waving a red flag at investigators. Other breeders say the slowdown in the Chinese economy tempered enthusiasm.

Guo offers a different explanation, likening it to the June stock market crash that followed frenzied—and irrational—buying. "The five years we saw people go mad for mastiffs defied

common sense," says Guo. Breeders started mixing mastiffs with every dog under the sun to give buyers "unique" mastiffs with fluffier manes, droopier jowls and increasingly bizarre features. For lovers of pure mastiffs, this was sheer horror. In a distorted market, mastiffs bred to look increasingly comical became the most valued: flat-faced, drooping and lion-maned giant stuffed toys.

The Crash

The business became so out of control that Guo says today, purebred mastiffs account for just one per cent of the entire mastiff population in Beijing. Today, there is no value for purebred dogs.

Pups worth 50,000 yuan (Rs 5 lakh) in 2005 are being sold for 1,500 yuan (Rs 15,000). Breeders are going out of business. The changing fortunes of the mastiffs came into national attention a few months ago, when a team of animal rescuers intercepted a truck carrying more than 100 dogs to a slaughterhouse and found 20 mastiffs. Dogs being sold for millions were now being slaughtered for meat.

On a recent afternoon, the mastiff farms in Beijing's Shunyi suburbs wore a deserted look. Only a few months ago, the highway from Beijing would be choked with traffic, as wealthy Chinese would bring their families and spend thousands on pups. Today, there are thousands of dogs that won't find a home. The trucks that drive up to the farms have a far more utilitarian objective. Armed with weighing scales and cages, they are paying breeders not per pup but per ounce—for meat that will be sold to slaughterhouses.

Guo describes the rise and fall of Tibet's warrior dogs as "a tragedy", reflective of a society where "status and wealth are all that matter" and new fads are discarded as quickly as they become frenzied obsessions. "The mastiff is a Chinese treasure. And instead of protecting it, we are now slaughtering it for meat." Guo doesn't know how this curious story of the rediscovery and fall of the mastiff will end, but he fears the worst.

Follow the writer on Twitter @ananthkrishnan

A SINGULAR MAN

In a candid and courageous memoir, Siddharth Dube writes about what it was like to grow up gay in the suffocating '70s



No One Else: A Personal History of Outlawed Love and Sex
by Siddharth Dube
HarperCollins
Pages 376
Price Rs 599



SIDDHARTH DUBE

By Kaveree Bamzai

The setting is the sumptuous Grand Hotel in Calcutta. The year is 1971. A light-skinned woman shimmies by as a 10-year-old boy is snuggling up to his mother. His parents have brought him to this rather risqué affair because they don't want to leave him behind with the ayah. The dancer throws off her bikini top to reveal peculiarly small breasts. In another flash, to an even louder gasp from the adults, she pulls off her bikini bottom—and, as she twirls naughtily out of the room, there is the vision of a penis.

It's one of the author's earliest memories, and introduces him to his life's preoccupations—the beguiling possibilities of gender and the mysterious, limitless permutations of sexual desire. It's also only one of the most astonishingly candid and courageous revelations in journalist-activist Siddharth Dube's memoir, *No One Else*. As a gay man who came of age in the India of the closeted '70s, Dube's biography is both a personal and political journey. In recounting his own painful realisation that he is different, he provides a scathing indictment of the education system, particularly the tony Doon School, of the country's policy on AIDS, the political establishment's attitude to homosexuality and the deep-seated hypocrisy surrounding prostitution not just in India but also in the West.

Always a "girly-boy", he writes harrowingly of the many assaults and molestations he endured at Doon School, saved from being raped only because of the presence of his elder brother. The savagery of young boys let loose

on younger boys in the residences is searingly told, with graphic accounts of abuse of the most inhuman kind involving bamboos, hockey sticks and cricket bats. Yet there is a silence of the abuser and the abused, with housemasters looking the other way. Dube writes of the irony of most Doscors exhibiting aspects of both homophobia and misogyny, seemingly burying their own exploration of sexual and sometimes even romantic love as young boys, as well as the trauma suffered at the hands of often sadistic seniors.

From there to St Stephens of the '80s where boys and girls studied together but awkwardly, to the homophobic atmosphere at Tufts University, Boston, in the supposed land of the free, Dube gives readers an insight into America, especially New York, at the height of the AIDS epidemic, or as it was known initially, the "gay plague". Homosexuality was a criminal offence in over half the American states when AIDS arrived as a mysterious disease in 1981 and Dube echoes Tony Kushner's remarkable *Angels in America* when he writes of the early years of panicked ignorance.

Dube writes of looking for sex furtively like other gay men in India in parks, at bus stops, on staircase landings. Like all gay men seeking pleasure, night-time affords some relief though there is always the ever-present fear of the police, who are often as corrupt as they are morally bankrupt. Yet it is not a bleak book, though the Supreme Court judgment on Section 377 (criminalising of homosexuality) would suggest it is. As he says, "Justice will prevail in India—India is not Putin's Russia, however much some of our political heavyweights might wish to set themselves up as autocrats." There are heroes who have stood up for decriminalising homosexuality and prostitution and Dube chronicles all of them, in a valuable contemporary history of "other" sexualities—from Selvi, the wrongfully detained HIV-positive prostitute, to Dominic D'Souza who was imprisoned in a sanatorium in Goa for being HIV-positive, to his flamboyant journalist friend Siddhartha Gautam who wrote the important testament *Less Than Gay*, to his first long-term lover, the Bharatanatyam dancer Tandavan, with whom he lived in an open and harmonious partnership.

Dube's suffering may be considered minor by standards of many—indeed, there is a passage when he writes of walking the streets of Calcutta slums at night witnessing dogs and forgotten people scavenging for scraps from the same litter, and feeling so small. But his ability to relate to others who are oppressed is moving and memorable. For anyone who has ever needed rescuing, for anyone who has ever needed to love and be loved without restraint, for everyone who has fought the good fight for the freedom to live, there is *No One Else*.

Follow the writer on Twitter @kavereeb

SHADOW OF SHANTARAM

Gregory David Roberts's sprawling sequel is high on philosophy but low on content

By Karishma Attari



The Mountain Shadow
by Gregory David Roberts
Little Brown
Pages 871
Price Rs 899

Shantaram took readers places they had never been to when author Gregory David Roberts conjured up a film noir version of Mumbai as a backdrop to his tough-talking Australian fugitive Lin. Its sequel, published after over a decade, places its hero two years hence in the same city, which is still a hallucinatory, fantastical, bong-infused mafia wonderland. Except that Lin has come a long way from being the unofficial slum-doctor with a heart of gold even if he is working for the same mafia 'Company' as he did in *Shantaram*.

For one thing, his father-figure don Kaderbhai is dead and Karla, the great love of Lin's life, is married to another man. Lin's day job is as a reluctant gun smuggler and passport-forgery; by night he is a writer studying his friends as 'characters'. Unfortunately, the times are changing for the worse with a new mafia leadership that no longer plays by gentleman's rules: prostitution and drugs are back in the market and all truces between rival gangs are off, leading to significant chest-thumping and blood and riots on the street. Lin, on the other hand, who always had a soft spot for the innocent, is wrestling with an internal conflict: do nice guys carry knives? The life of crime is beginning to lose its appeal, friendships are fading and it is up to a spiritual cave-residing guru named Idriss to help Lin find his way.

There's every expectation, then, that *The Mountain*

Shadow can venture deeper into *Shantaram*'s world and explore darker shades of it. Unfortunately, the sequel begins to read like a caricature of *Shantaram* after a while; this isn't a potboiler with no pretensions, featuring the occasional hard-won line of signature wisdom. *The Mountain Shadow* is unwieldy and swamped with moralistic maxims. Pithily expressed universal truths stampede through the novel, running (those ordinarily important elements of a thriller) characters and plot situations into the ground.

Lin and others around him operate like koan ninjas shooting fast and loose from the hip. Even the much-awaited reunion with Karla turns into an aphorism contest that runs into several pages. "The truth is a bully we all pretend to like," says Karla. "We are privileged by Fate... because we are damned by Fate," quips Lin. This kind of thing gets old on account of the assumption that everyone in Lin's world is hard at work distilling philosophy or at least quotable quotes out of his or her everyday life. The number of characters spouting clichés is daunting, for example: the porter at Lin's hotel, the barman mixing drinks at a party, his girlfriend (both ex and current), the local barber, the professional torturer, and even Blue Hijab, the Sri Lankan contact in a smuggling operation.

That's a big quibble to have with a big book that spans nearly 900 pages. There's also the not-so-small matter of infinitely postponed cliffhangers that begin to lose their purpose along the way. Rather than keeping the forward momentum, the endless premonitions hold the current moment in a state of irritated unknowingness. What will happen to the winsome Gemini twins? How will Ranveig, the Icelandic lost girl, reconnect with Lin? What will that poetic Russian bouncer or the Irish-Indian lawyer-cum-bodyguard amount to? Why is Lin's current action always pointing towards a lasting regret? These kinds of questions pile up until they reach a tipping point of indifference for the reader.

Roberts is gunning for the big themes here: love, friendship, and what it means to be a decent human being in indecent circumstances. Not a bad line-up by any calculation, and there is enough wit and intrigue to keep the reader going. Unfortunately, the same impulse that keeps Lin compulsively tipping his Indian friends has the author over-sharing axioms: the certain belief that he is first among equals and must carry the pennants of culture and class. To bear testimony to universal truths may well be a writer's burden, but that would take more showing and less telling than Roberts is doing in *The Mountain Shadow*.

Karishma Attari is a writer based in Mumbai

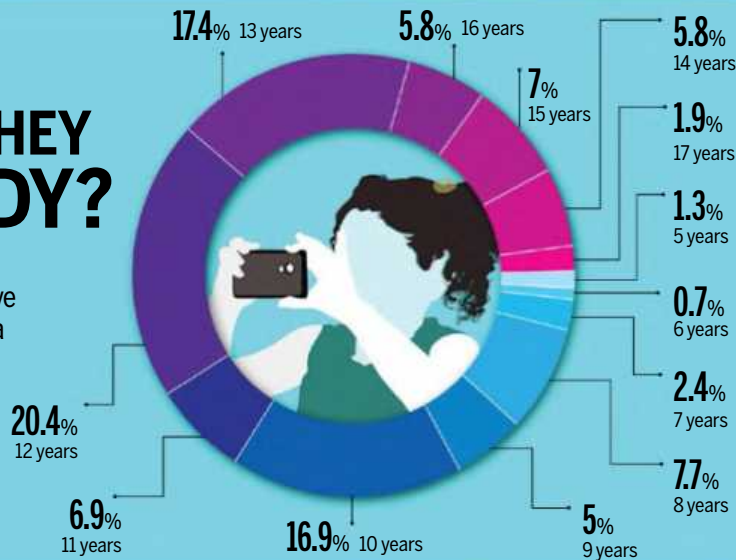
Illustration by SAURABH SINGH



Graphic by SAURABH SINGH

ARE THEY READY?

What is the right age to give your children a smartphone:



Source: Qualtrics; Last updated: November 2015

net trend

THAT FACE YOU MAKE



Royal Humour

When Modi met the Queen on his recent trip to London, the internet collectively made the same joke—the Indian PM asking the royal for the Kohinoor diamond. People shared pictures of their meeting with captions where Modi sneakily requests Queen Elizabeth for the diamond, including dialogues where the royal asks Modi what his favourite song by *The Beatles* is and he responds, 'Lizzie in the sky with diamonds'.

viral video



A Christmas commercial for British supermarket Sainsbury's narrated by actor Emma Thompson has over 6 million views.



Over 2 million laughed at a man who accidentally filmed a long selfie video of his vacation in Las Vegas.



A video of a skier surviving a 1,500-foot fall at a ski range in Alaska wowed over 1 million.

Follow the writer on Twitter @Ikummi

pixel perfect

Twins by Surprise



A video of twin grooms from Kerala, Dilraj and Dilker, marrying twin brides, Reema and Reena, has over a million views on Facebook. Adding to that, their marriage was officiated by twin priests and their flower girls and ring bearers were twins as well. Apart from the video, pictures from the ceremony, where all the twins are dressed identically, have been shared online.

web lol

What's in a Name?

Indian-American comedian Aziz Ansari's new show on Netflix *Master of None* has been getting a lot of praise for avoiding typical Indian stereotypes. However, desi netizens noticed one oversight—Ansari and his parents have a Gujarati last name 'Shah' even though they were depicted as a Tamil-speaking family hailing from Tirunelveli district in Tamil Nadu. After many tweeted the blooper, Ansari responded saying he'd made a mistake but begged them not to tell the non-Indians.



what's new App Alert



UMake is a design app that aims at offering designers a 3D natural sketching experience.

Carrot Weather gives you hilariously twisted weather forecasts. It gives you 24-hour and 7-day predictions.



web wow

A Prayer for the World



A poem written by a girl after the terrorist attacks in Paris has been shared over 150,000 times on Facebook. Written by Karuna Ezara Parikh, the moving poem asks people to spread their sympathy and prayers for the various attacks across the world, particularly in the aftermath of bombings in Beirut and Baghdad. "Say a prayer for Paris by all means, but pray more for the world that does not have a prayer," she wrote.

HEROES HAVE

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YESTERDAY'S HEROES SUDDENLY FALL FROM GRACE AND NEW ICONS RISE FROM

LOSER OF THE WEEK: TIPU SULTAN

Just as a new war wages in Karnataka over the Tiger of Mysore, Tipu Sultan—"Was he or was he not a terrible tyrant?"—the Victoria & Albert (V&A) Museum in London is holding a series of exhibitions, that include a range of items that belonged to the Mysore monarch, who was an implacable enemy of the East India Company and had captured the popular imagination in Britain in the 18th century. On show from October to January 2016, the exhibitions are part of the V&A's India Festival marking the 25th anniversary



of the Museum's Nehru Gallery, which displays some of the most important objects from its South Asian art collection.

When Tipu Sultan was finally defeated after the siege of Seringapatam in 1799, soldiers from the East India Company went, open-mouthed, into his palace and took what they could, report newly-discovered documents from 1799, sold by Sotheby's in 2012. They give a fascinating insight into the ruler's court and the treasures within.

AMONG THE IMPRESSIVE HIGHLIGHTS ARE



TIPU SULTAN'S TENT on show at the Fabric of India exhibition, V&A



GOLD FINIAL from Tipu Sultan's throne



TIPU'S TIGER, a lacquered wooden semi-automaton in the shape of a tiger mauling a man

VIRAAT PURUSH THE POLITICAL WORLD HAS THROWN UP THE MOST ICONS



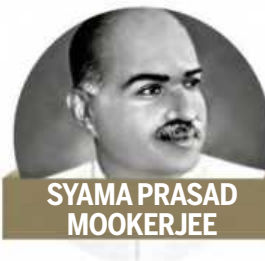
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

His birth anniversary celebrations have eclipsed Indira Gandhi's death anniversary on October 31. A Congressman, he had banned the RSS after Gandhi's assassination.



DEENDAYAL UPADHYAYA

Modi government's first Budget had social schemes named after him.



SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

ASHELF LIFE

THE DEAD TO STEP INTO THEIR SHOES? CHECK OUT INDIA'S NEW GALLERY OF WINNERS AND LOSERS.

AND THE WINNERS ARE...

HEMU

Hemu who? History books remember him as a footnote: the Hindu raja who was defeated by Mughal emperor Akbar in the Second Battle of Panipat in 1556. He is now being hailed as a hero for fighting the Mughals.



RAJENDRA CHOLA-I

This scion of the Chola dynasty built a huge empire a 1000 years ago stretching up to Southeast Asia. The RSS's move to celebrate a millennium of his coronation was seen as a bid to improve its base in the region.



RANA PRATAP

The credit for transforming the ruler into the 'Great' Maharana Pratap goes to Rajnath Singh. The icon who fell on the wayside was Akbar. "Akbar was merely a ruler," the nation heard in May this year.



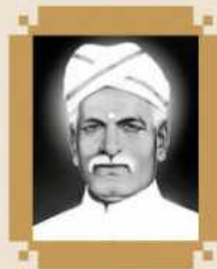
ASHFAQULLA KHAN

The only Muslim freedom fighter whose picture you'll find in the BJP office on Ashoka Road in Delhi. An aspiring revolutionary and poet, Ashfaqulla was disappointed when Gandhiji called off the Non-Cooperation Movement after the Chauri Chaura incident. On his birth anniversary in October, the BJP paid him rich tributes. Further plans are afoot to honour Ashfaqulla's role in the freedom movement.



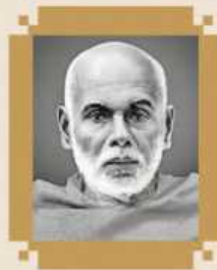
AYYANKALI

A Dalit icon who was no less a leader than Mahatma Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar, the PM had said on the 152nd birth anniversary of the social reformer in September 2014.



NARAYANA GURU

The 19th century Ezhava clan guru's mutt in Sivagiri, near Thiruvananthapuram, came under the spotlight when Narendra Modi, then Gujarat CM, called for an end to untouchability from there in 2013.



RANI GAIDINLIU

Jawaharlal Nehru bestowed the title 'Rani' on her in 1937. Sent to jail at 16 for leading a rebellion against the British, she worked for the people of Nagaland until her death in 1993. Now a candidate for Bharat Ratna.



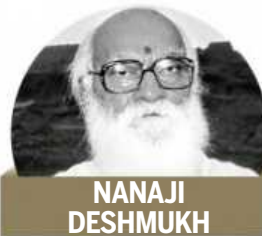
They may not have hogged the limelight during their lifetime, but touched with a brush of saffron brilliance, these historic figures now occupy the highest of pedestals

Leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, and founder of the Jan Sangh, he was the political prophet of Hindutva.



MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

The Modi government launched a scheme after the Congress leader who was associated with the Hindu Mahasabha in its early days.



NANAJI DESHMUKH

The grand old man of the Sangh was its philosophical and social anchor. Deshmukh's birth centenary in 2016 is being planned in a big way.

Graphic by SACHIN RUHIL

EYECATCHERS

HAZEL, WHO?

Perennial ladies' man Yuvraj Singh has got hitched, coming out with the ring thing in public at Harbhajan Singh and Geeta Basra's wedding, but who is **Hazel Keech**, really? A Mauritius-origin Hindu and an Indian classical-trained dancer and a choral singer, besides a trained surferboarder, she's also been an extra in several Harry Potter films before *Bodyguard* and *Bigg Boss 7* made her 'Salman Khan's girl' and *Jhalak Dikhhla Jaa* made her a teeny bit more famous. Another member of the Bollywood glam contingent to be felled by the left hook.



GETTY IMAGES

TRACING ROOTS

American-Tibetan **Tenzin Khecheo**, a 23 year old from Minnesota, is the subject of a new award-winning documentary *Miss Tibet: Beauty in Exile*. The film which debuts at the All Lights India International Film Festival in Kochi on November 16 traces the journey of Khecheo who moved to the US when she was seven under the Tibetan refugee resettlement programme. After winning the New York leg of the Miss Tibet contest, she travelled to Dharamsala to participate in the final leg, using the journey to rediscover her ethnic identity.



LOFTY COMPARISON

Jay G. Bista is the first cricketer of Nepali origin to play for the Mumbai Ranji team. His father is a gardener at the MIG Cricket Club. The right-hand batsman is already being compared to all-rounder Eknath Solkar, whose father was the head groundsman at the Hindu Gymkhana in Mumbai and used to change scorecards.



■ Compiled by **Gayatri Jayaraman**
Follow the writer on Twitter @Gayatri_J

LIGHTING LIVES

In a week when British PM David Cameron declared it won't be long before Britain gets an Indian-origin PM, he's also felicitated **Muna Chauhan**, a 46-year-old Britain-based children and women's rights campaigner who has raised over 5 million pounds for charities. She's been declared Britain's 387th Point of Light—an honour for volunteering services. Gandhi's credo of 'be the change you wish to see in the world' is her inspiration, she says.



HOME AND HAPPY

Shah Rukh Khan and **Gauri Khan** threw open their newly-acquired and spruced up Alibaug home to friends this weekend. The house, however, looks more like a sample store of Gauri's interior design enterprise. With the actor receiving overwhelming support from all corners for his views on rising intolerance in India, SRK has enough reasons to be happy.

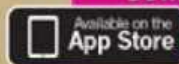
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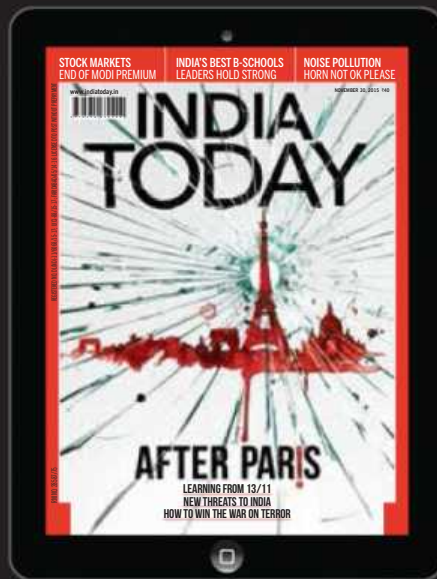


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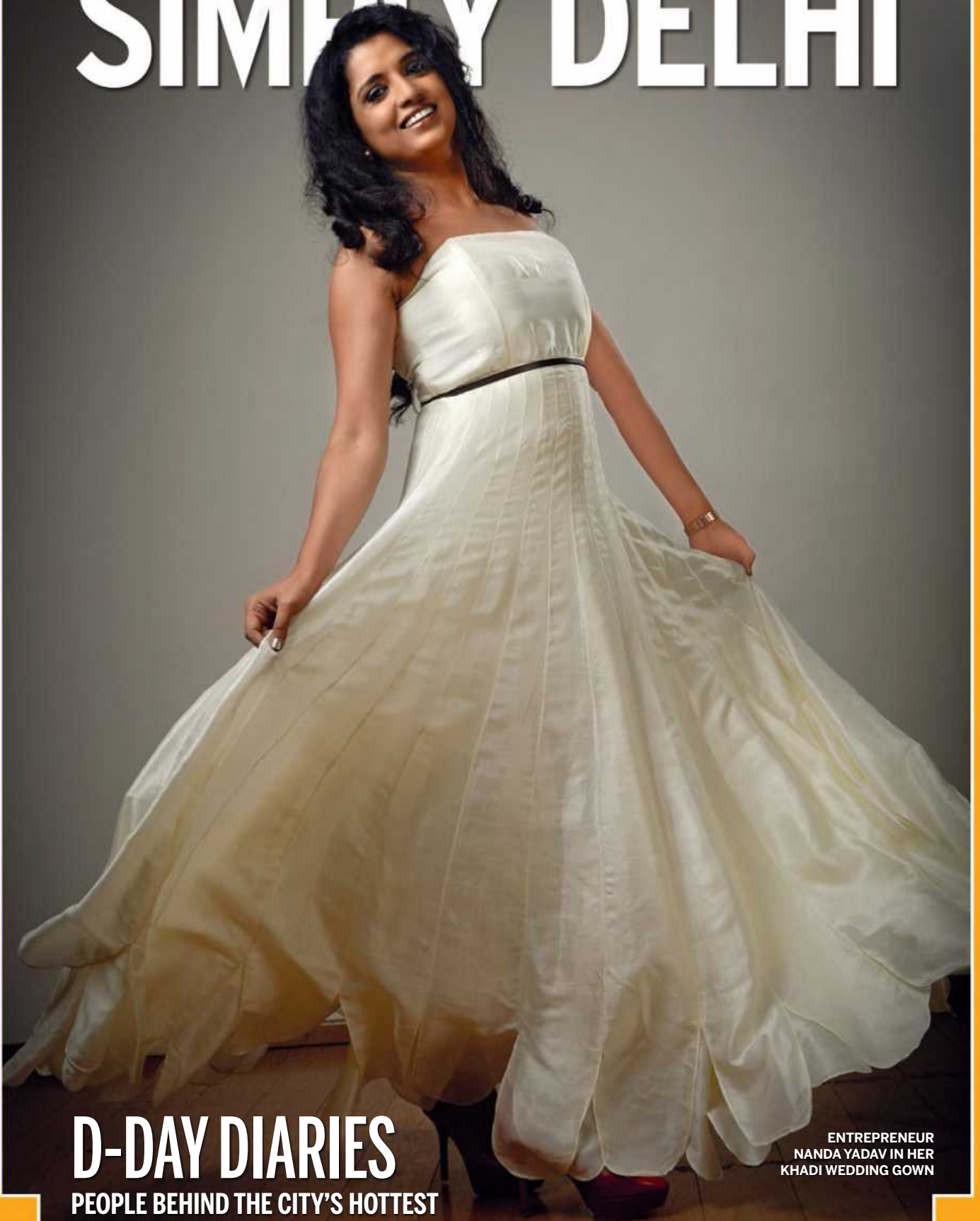
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A MONTHLY CITY MAGAZINE

INDIA
TODAY

SIMPLY DELHI



D-DAY DIARIES

PEOPLE BEHIND THE CITY'S HOTTEST
WEDDING TRENDS

ENTREPRENEUR
NANDA YADAV IN HER
KHADI WEDDING GOWN

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Photograph by RAJWANT RAWAT

COVER STORY

The Wedding Wizards
Our guide to trends that will rule
the upcoming wedding season.

s-4**City Buzz**

Into the City
Top ten things to do in Delhi
this winter.

s-12

Cover photo by VIKRAM SHARMA

OUR PICK of the month

On the Twelfth Night November 24 to 25

Filter Theatre, one of the boldest theatre groups in the United Kingdom, will bring Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* to the Capital. The story, a tale of romance, satire and mistaken identity, will be returned to give the feeling of a highly energetic rock gig. In a radical interpretation of the classic, the group aims to shock the audience with its riotous take of the play and aims to make it interactive, fast-paced and accessible. Expect to be blown away and experience Shakespeare



like you have never before.
Venue British Council,
Kasturba Gandhi Marg
Details britishcouncil.in
Timings 7 p.m. onwards

Want to tell us about an event? A new store? A restaurant? People doing interesting things?
Anything newsworthy? Please email us at: simplydelhi@intoday.com

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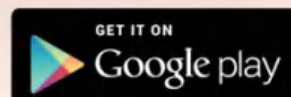


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THE WEDDING WIZARDS

MEET THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE HOTTEST WEDDING TRENDS OF THE SEASON

By SIMPLY DELHI TEAM

Making a Statement

Nanda Yadav, Founder, Red Sister Blue

TREND Khadi wedding gowns

WITH THE AIM TO PROMOTE KHADI AS THE PREFERRED FABRIC AMONG YOUNG brides and preserve the sentimental value attached to it, actor and entrepreneur Nanda Yadav decided to do what nobody had ever attempted—design khadi wedding gowns. The founder of Red Sister Blue, an online women's apparel brand selling modern khadi wear, decided to start the trend with her own wedding to see how people connected to it and designed a gown that she exhibited at a fashion show in Hyderabad last year. "The response was great. One only sees georgettes, chiffons, and silks during weddings, but I wanted to offer something different to people who think outside the box and want to explore and go beyond the boundaries of set trends," says Nanda.

Born in Kanpur and brought up in Delhi NCR, Nanda says khadi is not just a fabric for her; it's an emotion, a memory and more importantly, a journey. "I have grown up seeing my father wearing it and eventually, I started wearing it so much that I couldn't let it go. Khadi has not been explored much and at Red Sister Blue, we want to create trends around this fabric," she says.

This year, Nanda, along with her team of designers, created a collection of dyed khadi with complexities in the weave and next year, she will be experimenting with graphic prints and colour blocking on the fabric. "Currently, we are working on gowns for a white wedding and later we will have a whole wedding range for Indian weddings as well. The colours we are playing with are mostly whites and golds because those are the natural colours of raw khadi silk. We are also coming up with heavy embroidery outfits and light cocktail party gowns," says Nanda.

Contact redsisterblue.com, nanda@redsisterblue.com **Cost** To be decided



■ Nanda Yadav in her khadi wedding gown

Photograph by VIKRAM SHARMA

Anand and Mehak Shahani,
founders, WedMeGood

Digital Connections

Anand, 29, Mehak Shahani, 21,
Founders, WedMeGood

TREND Digital wedding planning

ANAND AND MEHAK SHAHANI'S simple wedding turned into an inconvenient tale of two cities as they faced numerous hurdles in coordinating their wedding day preparations due to their different locations—Mehak was based in Delhi and Anand was living in Hyderabad. The wedding finally took place in Hyderabad but not before the couple realised that creating a common portal for wedding planning was the need of the hour in the flourishing wedding industry. Both bid adieu to their successful corporate jobs and hopped on to the start-up bandwagon in February last year, when they launched their website, *WedMeGood.com*.

The website is divided into two sections. The first provides a curated list of planners, photographers, caterers, mehendi artists and trousseau designers across the country. The second section is a visual treat for those seeking wedding inspiration through a photo gallery that uses real weddings and clothes, jewellery, venues and decorations used in various events as a mood board.

WedMeGood.com, which has over two lakh unique visitors every month, is also venturing out to the mobile audience through the WedMeGood app. The focal point of the app is collaborative wedding planning. "You can add your mother, father, fiancé or even close friends to your app, discuss and share wedding ideas, shortlist vendors and plan your wedding with your family. You will also be reminded whenever some of your planning tasks are overdue," explains Mehak. **Contact** info@wedmegood.com

Photography by M ZHAZO; Decorations by EVANTALYA



Twist in the Invite, Sonal Aggarwal Jolly, 31, Invitation Designer

TREND Eco-friendly wedding invites

AN INCESSANT LOVE FOR INDIAN WEDDINGS and the discovery of how unapproachable designer wedding invites were for middle-class families in the city gave birth to Turmeric Ink in 2011. HR professional-turned-entrepreneur Sonal Aggarwal Jolly started her venture with a vision to make designer invites "more available and affordable". Four years on, her company has moved on from designer wedding invitations to eco-friendly ones. "People are shunning conventional ways. The younger generation understands the responsibility towards nature and wants to go green right from the invitation stage," says Jolly, who makes these

invites on recyclable paper.

That Delhiites are moving away from the clichéd poster-sized invitation cards with a box of boring sweets definitely helps people like Jolly. "A well-packaged invite that can be retained and reused is what people want. We're doing a lot of wooden boxes in a natural pine look with an antique finish. And instead of the usual sweets, we're packaging spices, tea or even honey along with the invites," says Jolly.

Contact Turmeric Ink Invitations and Stationery, 119, Sishan House, First Floor, Shahpur Jat Village; 9717283283 **Cost** Starts at Rs 250 per invite

Sonal Aggarwal Jolly,
founder, Turmeric Ink



An International Feast, Arjun Puri, 55,

Owner, XO Catering by Design

TREND Champagne brunches with international cuisine

EVERY WEDDING GUEST WOULD AGREE THAT THE success of any wedding solely lies on a delectable spread that is on offer. Arjun Puri of XO Catering by Design understands the importance of catering in an Indian wedding and provides an array of options that can leave anyone spoilt for choice. From Mediterranean, European and Oriental dishes to the traditional regional Indian ones, there is no cuisine left that hasn't been mastered by Puri's XO Catering.

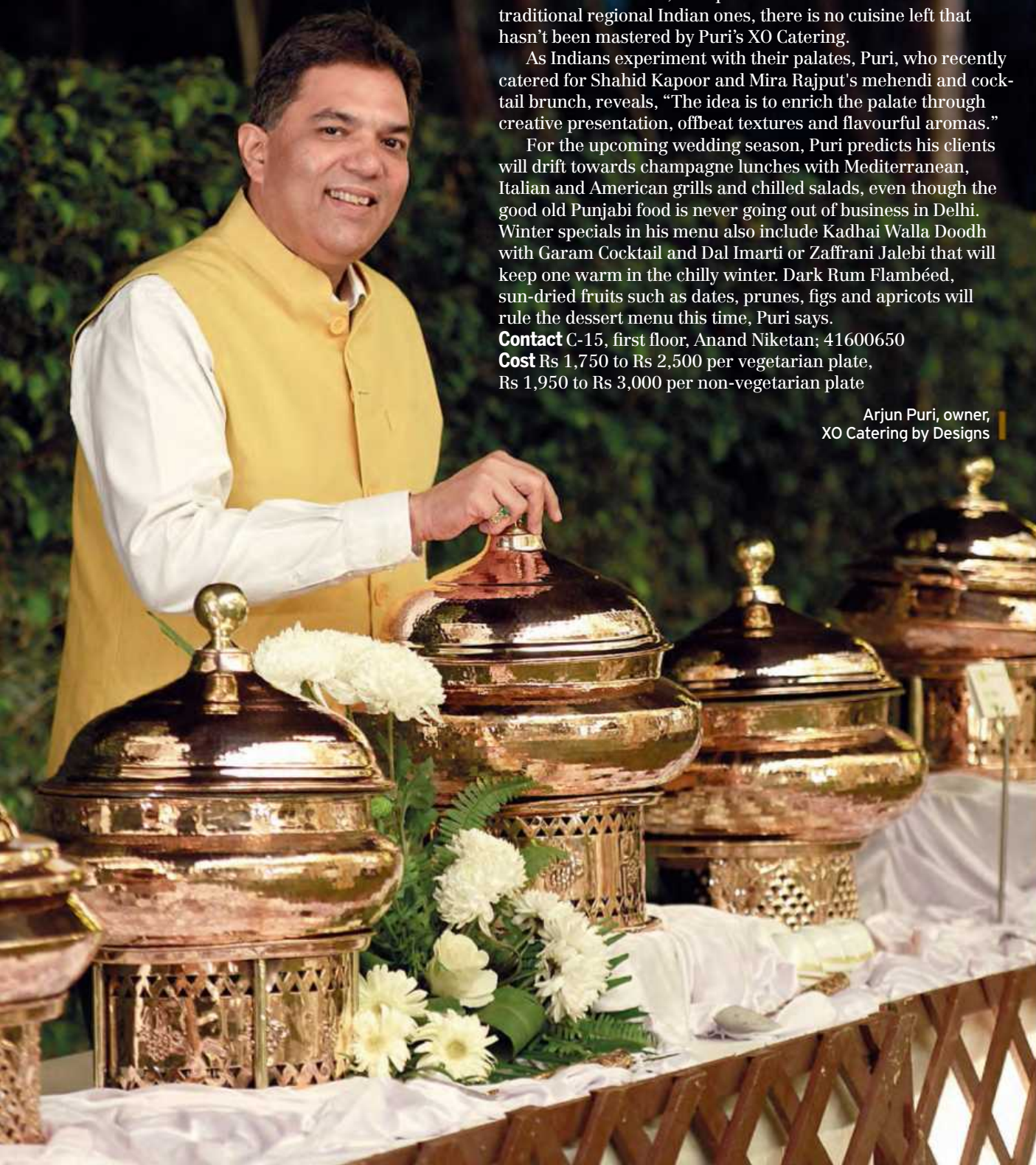
As Indians experiment with their palates, Puri, who recently catered for Shahid Kapoor and Mira Rajput's mehendi and cocktail brunch, reveals, "The idea is to enrich the palate through creative presentation, offbeat textures and flavourful aromas."

For the upcoming wedding season, Puri predicts his clients will drift towards champagne lunches with Mediterranean, Italian and American grills and chilled salads, even though the good old Punjabi food is never going out of business in Delhi. Winter specials in his menu also include Kadhahi Walla Doodh with Garam Cocktail and Dal Imarti or Zaffrani Jalebi that will keep one warm in the chilly winter. Dark Rum Flambéed, sun-dried fruits such as dates, prunes, figs and apricots will rule the dessert menu this time, Puri says.

Contact C-15, first floor, Anand Niketan; 41600650

Cost Rs 1,750 to Rs 2,500 per vegetarian plate,
Rs 1,950 to Rs 3,000 per non-vegetarian plate

Arjun Puri, owner,
XO Catering by Designs



Framed Forever, Arjun Kartha, 35, Praerna Kartha, 30, Wedding Photographers

TREND Non-wedding' wedding photography

SHATTERING THE CONVENTIONAL AND boring perceptions around wedding photography and branding their work as completely 'non-wedding', Arjun and Praerna Kartha are the husband-wife team behind Arjun Kartha Photography. Disappointed with the photographs their hired photographer took during their own wedding, the duo began their venture quite informally when they started carrying their cameras along to the weddings of their friends to capture some "real" moments.

Kartha believes that Indian couples today, inspired by the global trends in storytelling and high quality imagery, want the best day of their lives documented in the most memorable way possible. "As early as five years ago, wedding photography was largely the domain of traditional studio setups.

Couples now spend a large amount of time looking for the perfect photographer who will be able to give them memories they can cherish—and this has led to wedding photography becoming such a large and successful industry that is today," says Kartha.

Kartha predicts technology will play an important role in the evolution of wedding photography in the coming season. "Already there are more than fifty wedding e-commerce websites that cater to a vast variety of requirements that couples have. Also, trends like pre-wedding photography, high quality wedding coffee table books, personalised photo memories for guests and photo booths are all new and will stay for a while.

Contact arjunkarthaphotography.com,
a@arjunkarthaphotography.com

Cost Rs 1 lakh onwards

Arjun and Praerna Kartha
of Arjun Kartha Photography

Photograph by RAJWANT RAWAT



Weddings Unplugged, MC Sid, 29, Rapper

TREND Rap songs at weddings

EVER HEARD OF A RAPPER AT INDIAN weddings? No, we are not talking about Snoop Dogg crashing the wedding of an Indian couple in Chicago. Back home, Siddharth Sood aka MC Sid, is setting the trend of performing rap songs at wedding functions, something that young Delhiites are increasingly warming up to. From popular bands to surprise dance performances by friends and family of the bride and groom, the entertainment quotient of Indian weddings has come a long way.

Sid began performing at nightclubs when he was just 17 years old. "Back then, it was a task to explain to club owners what rap music was all about. But in 2007, somebody saw me perform at a nightclub in Mumbai and asked me to do the same act at a wedding function. I was a

bit confused, but decided to give it a shot. Their cocktail function was at the ITC Grand Central in Mumbai and the show was such a hit that the hosts called me back for their next function after two days," says Sid, who is an MBA from Symbiosis Institute of Business Management, Pune. Sid's compositions are instantaneous and original. He mixes his lyrics with popular hip hop beats and also uses popular Punjabi break beats to indigenise the content. "Now, most Bollywood movies have wedding songs and these, along with other party songs, are hot numbers for sanjeet and cocktail functions this season. Clients preferred folk singers but now the younger generation likes percussionists and live performers with EDM and Bollywood dance music," he says.

Contact mcsid.in **Cost** On request

MC Sid performs at a wedding function





Baker Arshi Dhupia with one of her floral cakes

Baked Bliss, Arshi Dhupia, 39, Baker

TREND Exotic flower decorations

ARSHI DHUPIA, WHO'S BEEN BAKING WEDDING cakes for over 15 years now, has seen the city's tastes evolve from the traditional vanilla and chocolate to the themed fondant cakes. Dhupia says Delhiites now want "elaborate cakes with exotic themes, colours and flavours" and this year in particular has seen her work a lot with exotic flowers. "Apart from the roses and carnations, people want orchids, peonies, calla lillies, cherry blossoms and hydrangeas on their wedding cakes," she says. Another recent trend in wedding cakes are non-edible details. "People don't mind having real jewellery such as pearls and diamonds on the cakes, which are inedible," she says.

Dhupia, a self-taught baker, says she gets all kinds of clients asking for a wide variety

of cakes—both quirky and simple tiered cakes. "A couple met on a basketball court, so they ordered for a cake which had a couple holding basketballs. Then there was also a cake for a pizza-loving husband. It had a couple sitting and watching television together, with a pizza in the husband's hand," she says.

While the themes are getting crazier, the flavours are also not far behind. "People want to experiment with different flavours in every tier now. It could be anything from a chocolate almond in one, apple and cinnamon in the second and a red velvet in the third," says Dhupia.

Contact Cravings by Arshi Dhupia, 100, Golf Links; 9811296858

Cost Rs 1,800 per kg onwards

3 Festivals in and AROUND TOWN

1 **PUSHKAR MELA** PASSAGE TO PUSHKAR

Sand, sun and the spellbinding notes of the *sarangi* drifting with the dunes. Ask travellers why they return to Pushkar every year and they will tell you a tale of magic that engulfs the desert in November during a full moon. Pushkar has garnered international attention for its annual Pushkar Mela, one of the biggest cattle fairs in the world. Like every year, this time the locals and tourists will be treated to seven fascinating days revolving around camel races, beauty contests featuring elaborately adorned and shaved camels, folk and classical music, and the highly amusing moustache competition.

SCHEDULE

- **November 18** Camel race, football match (locals v/s visitors)
- **November 19** Satolia match (locals v/s visitors), camel decoration (gorband)
- **November 20** Camel and horse dance competition, maha aarti, temple dance
- **November 21** Spiritual walk, kabbadi match, inauguration of cattle exhibition
- **November 22** Moustache competition, performance by vocalist Vidhya Shah
- **November 23** Wrestling and matka race
- **November 24** Musical chair race, champion cattle competition
- **November 25** Closing ceremony and prize distribution, maha aarti

WATCH OUT FOR

- The spectacle of the camel fair from a **hot air balloon**. SkyWaltz is offering balloon flights over Pushkar on request. Get details on skywaltz.com.
- **Events** such as "matka phod" (between locals and visitors), Indian bride and groom competition (for foreigners), camel race, camel beauty contest and the longest moustache competition.
- **A dip in the holy waters** of Pushkar's lake during the two most auspicious days around the full moon.
- **Cricket match** between the local Pushkar club and a team of random foreign tourists.

Over 11,000 camels and 4,00,000 people will visit the Pushkar Mela





Vocal and instrumental ensemble, La Grande Chapelle;
(below) singer Kailash Kher

2 **THE SACRED** FOR MIND, BODY AND SOUL

November is a busy month for the dusty, small town of Pushkar in Rajasthan. Apart from the annual and grand Pushkar Mela, this year, it will also play host to a festival of music, yoga and meditation—The Sacred. Organised for the first time by the team that produces the annual ZEE Jaipur Literature Festival, The Sacred (November 22 to 24) will feature diverse musical performances from renowned international and Indian artists including Spanish sacred music ensemble La Grande Chapelle, Grammy-winning Hindustani classical music instrumentalist Vishwa Mohan Bhatt, vocalist Shubha Mudgal, popular folk influenced singer Kailash Kher, Nagara maestro Nathu Lal Solanki and Sino-Jewish collaborators Yom and Wang Li.

Besides these, there will also be heritage walks and guided meditation, chanting and yoga sessions such as Kundalini Yoga by Kulbir Singh and Vayu Yoga by Capucine Redon and Suresh Dutt Sharma.

PROGRAMME LINEUP

➤ **November 22 at Gwalior Ghat**
6.30 p.m. to 7.00 p.m. Maha aarti
7.00 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. Vedic Chants
7.30 p.m. to 8.00 p.m.
Nathulal Solanki on 52 Nagaras
8.00 p.m. to 9.00 p.m.
Sharat Chandra Shrivastava
on violin
9.00 p.m. to 10.00 p.m.
Vocalist Shubha Mudgal
10.00 p.m. to 10.10 p.m. Fireworks

➤ **November 23 at Old Rangji Temple**
7.00 a.m. to 9.00 a.m.
Kundalini Yoga by Kulbir Singh and
Vayu Yoga by Capucine Redon and
Suresh Dutt Sharma
9.00 a.m. to 10.00 a.m.
Vocalist Vidya Shah and vocalist
Anirban Bhattacharyya
4.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m.
Heritage walk



3

QUANTUM

KINETIC EXPRESSIONS

Swiss choreographer Gilles Jobin will bring to the city a one-of-a-kind dance performance as part of the Year of Swiss Innovation in India.

Titled Quantum, the dance is a quivering, throbbing performance that celebrates the dance of the universe by depicting the movement of elementary particles.

Inspired by a three-month residency at the CERN (European Organisation for Nuclear Research) and his discussions with the physicists, choreographer Jobin went on to create the captivating show, based on random trajectories and extremely precise repetitive movements. It is a magnetic show, both literally and figuratively, where six dancers constantly attract and repel each other, as if caught in a force field, which all matter is subjected to.

The rumblings of the Large Hadron Collider (LHC), captured by the composer Carla Scaletti and the lumino-kinetic installation of the German artist, Julius von Bismarck, accompany the dancers.

After the performance on December 4 Florencia Canelli (Zurich University) and B. Ananthanaryan, Chairman Centre for High Energy Physics IISc Bangaluru, will join Jobin on the stage and discuss the relation between dance and science. An open discussion with the public will follow.

Apart from the Capital, the show will also take place at Chandigarh's Open Hand on December 1. When December 4 and 5

At Kamani Auditorium, 1, Copernicus Marg

Timings 7.00 p.m. onwards

Tickets Open for all, free passes available



10

EVENTS TO LOOK FORWARD TO



Nightlife

1 HIC HIC HURRAY

December 12 to 19

A week-long celebration of craftsmanship behind mixology will take place at multiple bars and restaurants, which will host a variety of tasting sessions, pub crawls and master classes in the art of the pouring the perfect concoction. Patrons can buy wrist bands priced at Rs 599, Rs 1,099 and Rs 5,499 and avail cocktails worth Rs 200 and Rs 400.

At Various venues across the city
For details delhicocktailweek.com

Fashion



2 APPAREL CORNER

December 10 to 12

A curated experience of textiles tilted Nayaab showcases the creations of 14 designers will be exhibiting their signature saris and fabrics. Among those exhibiting are Pero by Aneeth Arora; Weaver Studio by Darshan Shah, Monapali Tulsi with Neeru Kumar and more.

At The Lodhi Hotel

Art

3 WEAVING A CHANGE

Till December 31

Rarely do artists and weavers come together for a cause. But a unique collaboration presented by Panipat-based Raj Group puts the spotlight back to the tradition of weaving through an exhibition in the city. Painters, musicians, and artists will bring in their signature techniques to narrate a tale through weaves.

At The Stainless Gallery,
Old Ishwar Nagar

Tel 426031670

Timings 11.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m.



4 BEYOND BORDERS

November 23 to 30

German born artist Katharina Kakar's debut solo exhibition, 'Crossing the Lakshman Rekha', will be showcased in the city this month. Including drawings and mixed media installations, the show features works done by the artist over almost two years. One of the most interesting works in the exhibition includes *Desire* (2014), ink drawing, on handmade paper, a series of drawings dealing with women's sensuality and sexual desires, drawing inspiration from the Indian concept of *shringara*.

At Visual Arts Gallery,
India Habitat Centre
Tel 24682001



5 UNITED IN ART

Till November 27

Mumbai-based artist Dipti Bondre's latest exhibition, *Ode to the Bosphorus*, explores the uniting elements between the Turkish-Islamic architectural heritage and Yantras and Mandalas. It includes photographs of Istanbul, where the artist stayed for a month, printed on canvas and hand-painted with gold in accordance to the science of geometry.

At Turkish Embassy, 50-N, Nyaya Marg, Chanakyapuri
Tel 24101975



6 SOULFUL DEDICATION

Till November 25

Portrait artist Rishabh Sud is attempting to bring back some of the lost glory back to portraiture through his solo show 'Moments 2007-2015'. Dedicating his show to his father Satish Sud, a well-known graphic designer and artist, the exhibition will feature 50 portraits, of which 20 are charcoals and the rest oil.

At 1AQ, Qutab Minar, Main Roundabout **Tel** 8510044145



7 TALKING HEADS

December 1 to 7

Versatile Artist Neeraj Gupta is back with his signature style grotesque heads. The artist explores between perceived reality and the creativity of human mind by giving form to it. Gupta conflates the Indian aesthetics with his signature style to depict the anxieties of modern life.

At Visual Arts Gallery, India Habitat Center
Timings 11 a.m. to 8 p.m.



8 VERBAL RECOLLECTIONS

November 26 to 29

The fifth edition of Indian Languages Festival—Samanvay 2015 aims to capture political diversity of India through languages. The festival will focus on five languages this time—Mizo, Tamil, Bangla, Marathi and Dogri—and explore themes of writer liminality and linguistic-literary traditions. Some of the speakers at the event include eminent writers like Ashok Vajpeyi, Tenzin Tsundue, Urvashi Butalia and Arunava Sinha.

At India Habitat Centre, Lodi Road
Tel 24682002



Food

9 SMALL BITES

Bread & More is all set to delight foodies with the new additions of delectable baked goodies to its popular menu. The new menu will have a variety of cakes, quiches, tarts and cronuts made from exotic ingredients like Ethiopian coffee beans, French cream and Belgian chocolate.

Desserts for two Rs 400

At N-17, N Block market, Greater Kailash-I **Tel** 29230575

10

REVIVING LOST ART

Folk

November 21 to 25

National School of Drama's Sanskaar Rang Toli brings to you its ninth edition of Bal Sangam, where you will be able to enjoy traditional performances from 12 Indian states. From folk dance, martial arts, acrobats, street performances to magic shows and puppetry, Bal Sangam will present 14 vivid performing arts that are on the verge of extinction.

At Bahawalpur House, 1, Bhagwandas Road, Mandi House **Timings** 4 p.m. to 8 p.m





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2 New Foodie HAUNTS

1 DELHI CLUB HOUSE COMFORT CRAVINGS

Delhi Club House comes as a whiff of freshness in a city obsessed with exotic cuisines. This is where comfort food comes packaged in a plush ambience with a warm staff taking care of you. Chef and restaurateur Marut Sikka's brainchild, Delhi Club House at Sangam Courtyard brings together dishes inspired by food from members-only clubs across the country. So, plonked on the brown leather chairs, you can munch on the most comforting masala peanuts, chips and dip and the masala cheddar toast even as you peep out of the large bay windows at the flow of Delhiites congregating at this latest South Delhi hotspot.

► **DRINKS** The cocktails here are as comforting as the food. Be it the simple gin and lime or Old Spice—the vodka with orange zest and sparkling wine, they are perfectly balanced to go with your meal.

► **FOOD** There's so much to pick from the menu. But our all-time favourite would be the cheese soufflé. An import from Mumbai's Byculla Club, this melt-in-the-mouth soufflé made with cheese and egg whites just magically finds space in your stomach even if you claim to be stuffed.

Meal for two Rs 1,500 At Sangam Courtyard, RK Puram, Sector 12
Tel 9717535533

■ By Rewati Rau



(Clockwise from top) Interiors of Delhi Club House; A'la Kiev Cutlets; a pitcher of East India cocktail



2 THE JUNKYARD CAFE MORE THAN JUST JUNK

There are a lot of new eateries that have recently come up in Connaught Place recently and one better than the other. So what's different and novel about Umang Tewari's new venture, The Junkyard Café? Spread over 13,000 sq ft, the restaurant derives inspiration from an actual junkyard. As soon as you enter, your eyes are instantly drawn to the various installations made using junk materials such as tyres, barrels, car parts, old radios, TVs, beer bottles and more. There's also a massive terrace seating, where you can enjoy the drinks overlooking the city lights.

► **DRINKS** Cocktails are Junkyard's strong point. The must-tries from the drinks menu are Edison Bulb—a drink made with gin, lavender, lemongrass and lime juice and served in an actual light bulb-shaped tumbler with a straw; and Lethal, which, true to its name, is a potent mix of whiskey, brandy, ginger ale anise and maple syrup.

► **FOOD** The food menu is a bit confused in its presentation with unnecessary complication and you may end up spending a fair amount of time trying to wrap your head around what to order. The plus, however, is that it has a healthy food section, which consists of a number of dishes to choose from which are tasty and low on the calorie count (mentioned along with the names of the dishes). But unfortunately, most of the items were unavailable when we asked for them. Then there are the regulars such as sushi, a few Asian and Indian preparations and burgers. Must-tries from the veg food selection include Veg Crudités with white bean and hummus, veg sushi and crispy stir fried lotus roots and if you prefer non-vegetarian, then try their prawn and fish dim sums. Overall, Junkyard makes for a fun and funky place to hang out with family and friends over great drinks and decent food.

Meal for two Rs 2,000 At N-91, second floor, Connaught Place
Tel 9599947642

■ By Mohini Mehrotra



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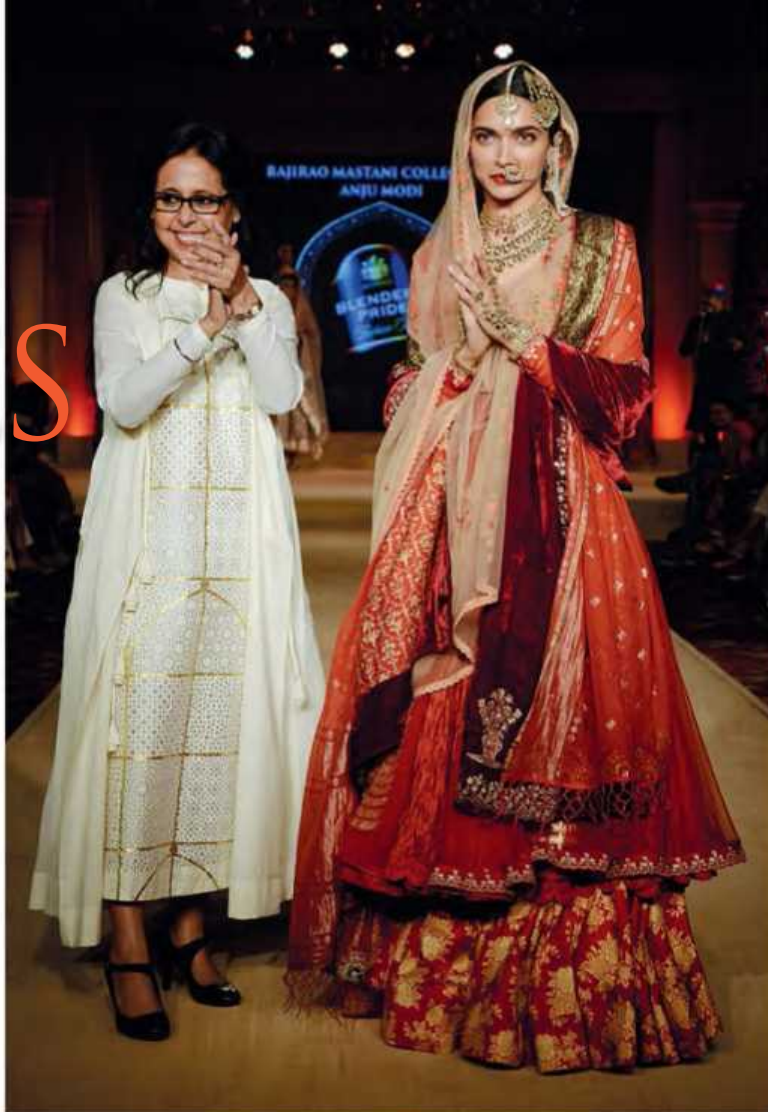
RAMP DIARIES

THE BLENDERS PRIDE FASHION TOUR 2015 ENTHRALLED THE CITY WITH TWO DAYS OF SHOWSTOPPERS

MARATHA GRANDEUR

Designer Anju Modi

Deepika Padukone (right) turned show stopper for designer Anju Modi on Day 1 of Blenders Pride Fashion Week. The designer's collection, inspired by Sanjay Leela Bhansali's upcoming film *Bajirao Mastani*, highlighted influences of the traditional Marathi outfits in her ensembles (below).





UNDERSTATED ELEGANCE

Designer Abraham and Thakore

Redefining contemporary life in the metropolitans with traditional ensembles like kurtas and Nehru jackets, Abraham and Thakore set the mood with a darker colour palette, using coffee, plum and charcoal and silk and cotton remnants to create sustainable fashion.





TIME WARP

Designer Rahul Mishra

Actor Neha Dhupia (above) was the showstopper for designer Rahul Mishra, who turned into a master storyteller and used cloth as the medium to narrate the bewitching tales of villages around the world. Combining structure with the free flowing silhouettes of fabric, Mishra recreated the village ecosystem—an equilibrium between man and nature.